



MEXICO
and the
WAR

United by Nature and Destiny

Neighbors and Friends Forever

LECTURE BY

Emeterio de la Garza, Jr.

MEXICO
AND THE WAR

A LECTURE BY

EMETERIO DE LA GARZA, JR.




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EMETERIO DE LA GARZA, JR.

DIAZ GOVERNMENT

Member of the Mexican Federal Congress for twelve years (1898 to 1910).

Member of the Commission on Constitutional Laws.

Secretary to the Mexican Delegation of the Pan-American Congress (1902).

Commissioner of the Mexican Government to the Governments of the United States and China to devise the best plans to establish monetary reforms and gold standard in Mexico (1903).

Commissioner of the Mexican Government to Cuba (1903).

Special Commissioner of the States of Puebla and Mexico to the Federal Government (1904, 1907, 1908).

Editor of *La Patria*, City of Mexico daily newspaper (1908–1909).

MADERO GOVERNMENT

Councillor of the Department of Fomento.

Councillor of the Department of the Interior.

Councillor of the Department of Public Instruction (1912).

Commissioner of the Mexican Government to establish a system of rural school throughout Mexico (1912).

Counsel for the Republic of Mexico to arrange property rights and the distribution of water of the Rio Colorado, which irrigates both California, particularly th Imperial Valley (1912).

HUERTA GOVERNMENT

Special Envoy of the Mexican Government to visit twenty-two of the twenty seven States of the Republic for the purpose of conferring with the Executive, Judicial and Legislative authorities as to the best and most practical methods to establish permanent peace in Mexico (1913.)

Special Commissioner of the States of Campeche and Tabasco to the Federa Government (1913).

Commissioner of the Mexican Government to the United States and Franc (1914).

Since 1914 Señor de la Garza, Jr., has refused to participate in any way in th factional controversies in Mexico, and pending the establishment of a legal, permanen decent, progressive and human government in his country, he prefers to devote hi time, talents and energies to the interests of the Mexican people *as a whole* and t bring about a better understanding between Mexico and the United States.

THE LECTURE

THE lecture in an exposition and an analysis of the most important and timely national and international problems of Mexico. It comprehensively deals with questions of trade and political relations of the Anglo-American and Spanish-American countries. It explains the position of Mexico in the Western Hemisphere in its relation to the United States and the Latin-American Republics, and also defines Mexico's racial characteristics. It specifically presents the salient features of the system of labor under *peonage*, and methods of education and it presents a most carefully conceived and practical plan to establish the much-needed social, agrarian, economic, political and religious reforms.

It narrates the history of the Conquest, the Spanish Dominion, the struggle for independence, the Republic, the Maximilian Empire, the Diaz Administration and the Madero Revolution; the ten days' Tragedy, the arrest and assassination of Madero and Pino Suarez and the rise and fall of Huerta's Government, the insurrection of Carranza, Villa and Zapata, and the establishment of the new government of Mexico.

The lecture treats President Wilson's policy, the Mediation of the South-American countries, the Monroe Doctrine and Pan-Americanism, and in analyzing the international problems involved, gives a graphic account of the Anglo-American war for the control of the oil fields, the Mexican-American war for the ownership of the railroads, the influence of financial interests—Big Business and Foreign Capital in Mexico—the proposed alliance with Germany, the concession offered to Japan and Mexico's place and duty in the World's War.

The lecture presents a definite programme, points out the futility of intervention for the settlement of existing problems that must, of necessity, be settled eventually by friendly treaties, peaceful intercourse and fair dealing.

Finally in a far-reaching exposition, it offers the solution of present difficulties the basis for a permanent and peaceful government; it also outlines the outcome and the future relations of Mexico with the United States and of the United States with Mexico and the Latin-American Republics.

EXTRACT FROM *CONGRESSIONAL RECORD*

MARCH 10, 1914

Hon. Albert B. Fall, United States Senator, said in the United States Senate oı March 9, 1914, in part as follows:

"In May of last year a prominent Mexican lawyer came to this country. *Thi. man is a lawyer of standing, a man of world-wide experience and education.* Afte visiting twenty-two of the Mexican States, in an attempt to see if it was not possibl for him to persuade others to join with him in the effort to restore order, he cam to the United States. Upon his arrival here he furnished me with duplicates of hi communications which he had sent to the President of the United States. I ha some little correspondence with him of quite an animated character. I had no heard of him for several months. This man holds credentials from Mr. Huerta as a member of the present Mexican Congress, and he has refused to use those cre dentials because they were not issued upon an election but by Mr. Huerta so tha he might have 'a Congress on his hands.' This man holds credentials in the presen Congress. He has been offered high diplomatic office by the Huerta Governmen Enclosed with his letter was a memorandum. As he did not give me authority t make any portion of it public, I telegraphed for such authority and received it las night.

"*Mr. President, I have said that I could not find words with which to express m ideas or conclusions as to the conditions in the Mexican Republic today. This man has fortunately furnished me with a description of affairs such as I did not believe th Senate here ever read or dreamed of. He speaks of both parties as you will see furthe along.*

"MR. THOMAS: Mr. President—

"THE PRESIDING OFFICER: Does the Senator of New Mexico yield to the Senato of Colorado?

"MR. FALL: I do.

"MR. THOMAS: I do not think that I got from the Senator's statement a prope impression perhaps as to just for whom this gentleman speaks.

"MR. FALL: *He speaks for himself as a member of the Mexican race.*

"MR. THOMAS: He does not assume to represent either one of the factions?

"MR. FALL: No. He wants me to read over—that is I construe it to be per sonal—a certain memorandum which he sent me which I wired for permission an obtained permission to read.

"MR. THOMAS: The Senator made that statement; but I wanted to be sure no he does not represent anyone in the communication except himself.

"MR. FALL: *No one else. He is an educated Mexican lawyer and his only posi tion is that he holds credentials as a member of the Mexican Congress.*"

Senator Fall then read a large part of Señor de la Garza, Jr.'s memorandum t the Senate.

TO THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA

THE problem of Mexico is not a personal equation, a faction's venture or a sectional issue, nor can it be solved by war. War has seldom ended anything but human life. Victory is not always for the right but for the strong. Diaz left, Madero came, Huerta was overthrown, Carranza was recognized; one town is captured today and lost tomorrow by an army victorious now and defeated afterwards; to place or to raise the embargo of arms, Mister John Lind, or Mister Paul Fuller, or Mister William Bayard Hale, or Mister Duval West, and their wise or mistaken reports or suggestions, notes and warnings of President Wilson, occupation of Vera Cruz, punitive expeditions marching into or out of Mexico, mediation through the South American Republics, conferences at El Paso, at Washington, at Niagara Falls, or Atlantic City, withdrawal or appointment of an Ambassador, the loyalty of Obregon, the death of Villa, fighting among ourselves or with other countries intervention itself will not solve the problems nor will it restore peace to Mexico Orosco and Villa crushed Diaz's splendidly dressed and corrupted army, Villa and Obregon prove to be more daring than Huerta's ex-convict hordes. But with what result? What have we gained? Conditions today are far from satisfactory, and eventually they will become worse than ever.

The problem of Mexico is ancient in its origin, national in its scope, international in its importance, and to work it out, besides ourselves we need the generous and effective cooperation of all the healthy and constructive humanitarian forces of the world, especially of the United States. Revolution is the *result*, not the *cause* of our misfortune. To establish law and order in that, the most beautiful but the most unfortunate land in the world, is as much the problem of the United States as the problem of Mexico. The people and the government of the United States are face to face with a race, trade and international political problem, not only with Mexico, but with all Latin-America, twenty-one different and independent nations with one hundred million people populating three times the territory of the United States, and a foreign commerce of $3,000,000,000 a year; this problem is now complicated by the world war. The whole Pan-American program and policy is at stake. Furthermore, Mexico makes more complex the problem of the United States with Europe. Due to the Monroe Doctrine, "The greatest bluff in all history and so far the most successful," which prevents European nations from taking care of their own interests in this continent, the Government and the people of the United States are self-appointed trustees and *pro tanto* responsible for the loss of European lives and properties in Mexico, and at the end of the war or before the end of the war Europe may demand reparation and satisfaction. So the "sick man of America" means a problem with Mexico itself, with Latin-America and with Europe; and upon the way, the temper and the tone in which the United States definitely approaches the Mexican problem, depends the security, maintenance and improvement of American business and diplomatic relations with the world. On the other side, the problem for Mexico means her life, her nationality, her commercial, financial and political relations with all the world. Due to the same Monroe Doctrine, according to which you consider any attempt on the part of the European Powers to interfere in America as dangerous to your peace and safety and view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing the Spanish-American countries or controlling in any other manner their

destiny as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States the European Powers do not deal directly with us, but through Washington; and Central and South America, while having race solidarity with us, do not dare to antagonize the policy of the United States and they also consider and decide their Mexican affairs through Washington. So, when Mexico is in harmony with Washington it means cordial relations with all other nations, when Mexicans quarrel with the United States, we are at odds also with the rest of the world. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance for both countries to arrange their present differences and difficulties, but to arrange them permanently, on a solid, friendly and everlasting basis.

So to solve the Mexican problems we have to go very deep. Deeper than the skin, than the surface, higher than men. Above all the Mexicans is Mexico. Above all nations is mankind. Peace and prosperity in Mexico is a very serious question, one which involves all the world. I do not deal with revolutions nor do I care for this or the other man. I do not make a specialty of our troubles and misfortunes for rhetorical emotion or oratorical honors. Revolutions always destroy those who put them on foot. Specialists in sickness succumb to the very disease they are trying to cure. Cards beat the players. Health is not the investigation of sickness, art is not the criticism of defects, music is not the notice of discord, truth is not the refutation of error, morality is not the denunciation of vice, mathematics is not the correction of mistakes. We do not gain anything in Mexico by throwing the responsibility of the tragedy on this or that man, on this or that faction, What we need is to go heartily and fearlessly into the great, paramount, essential issues and problems on which the very life of Mexico depends and lay down the basis of a good, strong and healthy state body and preserve its functions in order.

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Mexico and the United States cannot be enemies; they must be friends. United, we are going to live in perpetuity. God has put us together, nature has made us neighbors. We cannot separate or remove our respective countries or peoples, physically or otherwise, nor can we build an impassible wall between us.

I will quote from Lincoln's First Inaugural Address, when he said of the South—as we can now say of ourselves:

> "Forever we have to remain face to face, and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between us. Is it possible then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends? *Suppose we go to war, we cannot fight always, and when after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, we cease fighting, the identical old questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon us.*"

"Happy day when—all appetites controlled, all poisons subdued, all matters subjected—mind, all-conquering mind, shall live and move, the monarch of the world. Glorious consummation."

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Then I say: Why not just as well be friends? And if we are going forever to live together, why not live also in a ıeal and happy international brotherhood?

All our troubles are due to a misunderstanding. Mexico has not been heard. Only the warring factions have been considered, with the pitiful result that the voice of fifteen millions of peaceful inhabitants has not reached the United States nor the outside world. Mexico deserves a universal audience in order that her rights may be set forth and established and her claims made known and satisfied. The people of the United States have heard of Huerta, Villa, Zapata, Carranza—only of leaders—always of men—and have summed up and focussed in those men and names and in their quarrels or mistakes the whole Mexican situation. But the good, candid and generous people of America have not heard of the fundamental problems, of the paramount causes, of the unknown and unsolved real, dreadful, tragical postulates which deal with the soil, the life, the racial, the historical, the religious, the economic, the social and the political conditions that prevail in my country, nor has there been presented to them any reasonable, intelligent, solid constructive plan to help Mexico, and save her from total destruction; restore law; order and prosperity and place her again among the civilized nations.

It is therefore desirable, and not only desirable but necessary, that one of us loyal and true patriotic Mexicans, whose primary duty it is to set our country right, should start a campaign of education and enlightenment, not only because relief to those who suffer is the duty of all men and the affairs of all nations, but because it will bring a better understanding between the two peoples, which is the key that will open the door to cordial and friendly relations. More so is this true when we consider that the United States is the best and the only friend that Mexico has, the only approachable, opulent, generous people that can help her, and when we consider that there are problems which Mexico needs to solve and will never solve without the help and assistance of the United States.

If Mexico is going to be saved and redeemed, it must be by truth when the whole world knows the whole truth about Mexico, told by truthful men in thought, words deeds. Beware of the patriotic lie of the man who disregards or is afraid of the rest of the world, beware of the provident lie of friends hiding our vices for selfish motives; of the envious lie of our enemies, of the beautiful lies of agitators and demagogues, of partisans, fanatics and extremists, of the unconscious lies of the rabble and ignorant masses. Let the truth be scattered among those who have no interest in suppressing its growth nor evading its power; let there be planted the seeds of a *new Mexico* in the deep fertile soil of free America and let the waters of our cry, like the rains of Heaven, descend broadcast until the Big Nations' heart bleeds with love and sympathy for poor old dear Mexico, and peace will reign over the land like the waters cover the sea. Truth, once known, even planted in the midst of the most discouraging and forbidden surroundings, will neither decline nor die; it is immortal and invincible, and in the safe custody of the American people will live eternally Truth, though it might hurt, needs no excuse to enlighten any more than the sun to shine, though it might burn.

Therefore, I deem it an unavoidable necessity, a sacred duty, to reveal facts and conditions as they exist in Mexico, so that they may be changed for the better; I will take you through the labyrinths and quicksands of the interior politics, revolutions, governments and contra-revolutions until we arrive together at safe and definite conclusions. I know that to expose Mexico from the inside is cruel, but I say it is necessary. I do not do it like Nero for the devilish pleasure of seeing the entrails

of the motherland where I was born, but like the needed Cæsarian operation that gave the ancient world its august ruler.

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Despoiled of our wealth, that we can recover; wounded in our pride, that we can cure; but the deepest hurt, the one which can never be healed, the one that the world will not stand for, is the outrageous forced subordination of the majority, the honest, the intelligent and best people to crime and anarchy at home and the isolation of Mexico among the civilized nations abroad. Mexico needs Christianization, education, immigration, and a real true democratic constitutional government. I say *real and true democracy* because the men who unfortunately exercise today power in Mexico do not know or understand what *democracy* is. They want equality not in law, rights and chances but equality of conditions, of wealth and health, of brains, morals and aims, they of course being the type and standard of life. According to their theory the level of intelligence must be ignorance, the level of activity must be paralysis, the level of strength must be weakness, the level of property must be confiscation, the level of morality must be crime, the level of finance must be bankruptcy, the level of government must be anarchy and the super-man must be Villa or Carranza, and I again say, the world will not tolerate it. And it is only through a great, supreme international campaign of enlightenment that conditions may be improved and bring Mexico to understand and to be understood.

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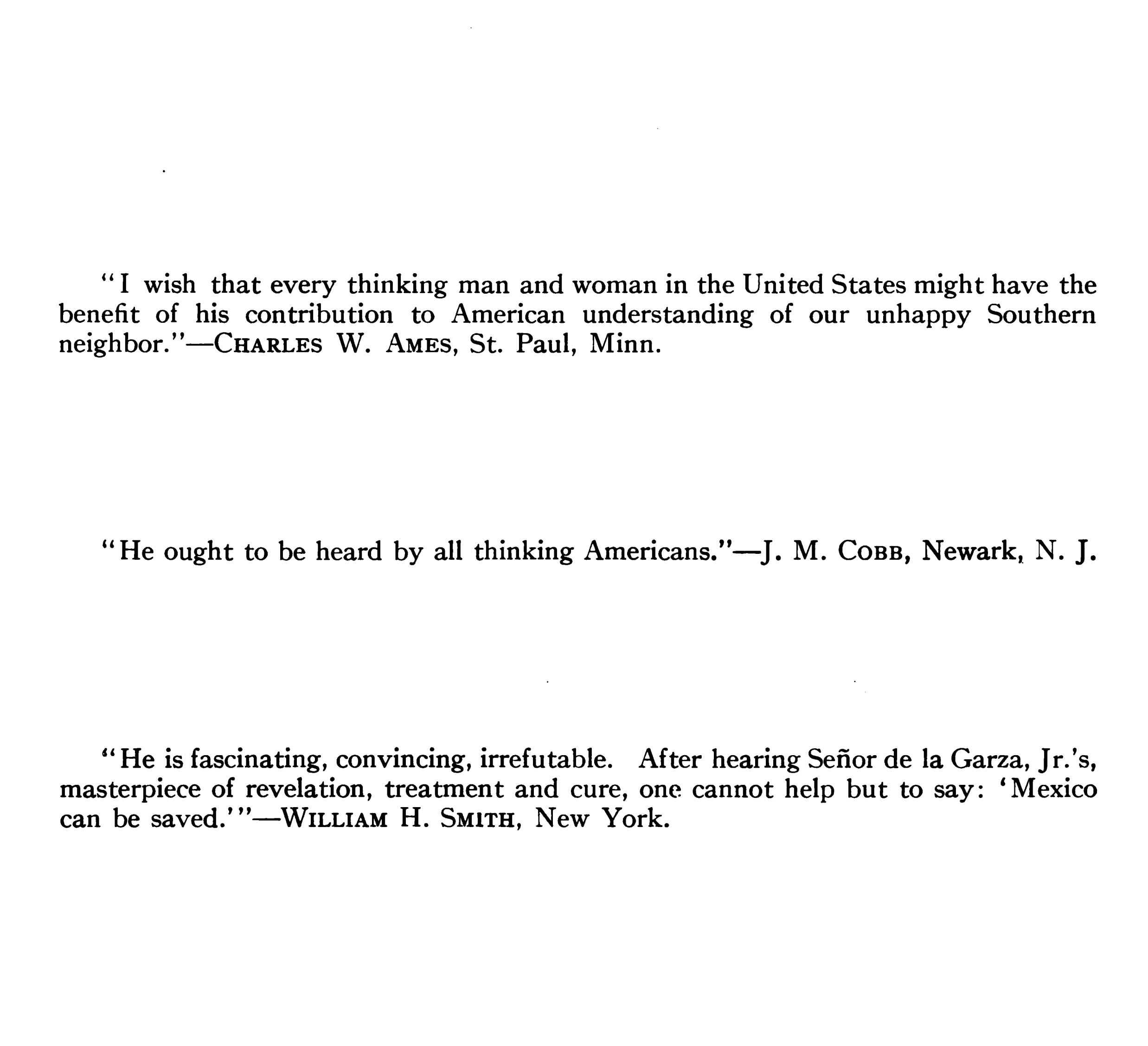
My pockets are empty of public money, my hands are clean of human blood, my conscience is free of responsibility, and my intellect clear of prejudice. I represent no government, party, class, sect, faction, creed or color, but the people of Mexico. I am free from personal rivalries, political ambitions and sectional interest. I serve the motherland as a nation at home, and as an international State abroad. I have given the morning of my life, my entire career, to the study of our vexed and arduous affairs—the national and international problems of Mexico—but of Mexico as a whole, as a country, as a Republic, and I will devote the rest of my life to see that peace, justice and liberty may reign in Mexico.

I speak without fear, remorse or contradiction. I shall voice offense or error to no one. My lecture is an open forum. I respectfully invite and gladly submit to questions and discussion from the audience and the press. I seek nothing but the salvation of Mexico.

Ambassador of Peace, in my lecture I have a message of friendship to deliver, an appeal to this great people of America. In behalf of my people I will respectfully say that if there is anything that we look forward to with sacred hope, it is the day when in peace, harmony and concord among ourselves we can also deserve and enjoy again the blessings of the good will, cordial relations and intelligent, effective and generous aid of the people of America, mutual aid, a real North American Alliance.

It is your problem, it is our problem. Let us discuss and agree in a feasible and human solution, one that will save blood, treasure and time, so lavishly wasted; one that will lead us to a permanent perfect life under the rays of the sun and the love of God.

EMETERIO DE LA GARZA, JR.



"I wish that every thinking man and woman in the United States might have the benefit of his contribution to American understanding of our unhappy Southern neighbor."—CHARLES W. AMES, St. Paul, Minn.

"He ought to be heard by all thinking Americans."—J. M. COBB, Newark, N. J.

"He is fascinating, convincing, irrefutable. After hearing Señor de la Garza, Jr.'s, masterpiece of revelation, treatment and cure, one cannot help but to say: 'Mexico can be saved.'"—WILLIAM H. SMITH, New York.

APPRECIATION

Extracts from a few of hundreds of letters favorably commenting upon the lecture which has been praised by the leading newspapers and magazines of America.

J. W. WOODDELL.
MANAGER



WEBSTER SPRINGS HOTEL,
WEBSTER SPRINGS, W.VA.
JUNE 15TH TO SEPT. 15TH

OFFICE OF THE MANAGER.

GRAFTON, W. VA., July 4th 1916

Senor Emeterio de la Garza Jr while addressing this evening a large audiance, was interrupted by the blowing of the Bugles of the Sixteenth Pennsylvania Infantry Regiment on its way to the Border.

The applause which followed was as much a tribute to the simple, honest and effective appeal the Senor was making to the audiance as to the departing American Soldiers. In our opinion not a member of that large audiance left the tent without feeling to a certainty with Senor Emeterio de la Garza that what Mexico needs, is not the soldiers speeding to her borders, but the firm and intelligent support of this government in establishing and maintaining a new constitutional Government to restore peace and order, in that Country.

H. W. Savidge
I. Klein
C. V. Gough
E. J. Fohey.

G. W. Kunst.
Harry Friedman.
C. H. Mayo

SAINT PAUL INSTITUTE

St. Paul, Minn.

Of all the many lectures which have been given before the St. Paul Institute, there has been none more interesting and profitable to the members than that which Señor de la Garza, Jr. gave us last evening. His admirable statement of fundamental conditions, of the causes of discontent, and the sources and circumstances of the revolution, his statesmanlike analysis of international relations, were all most illuminating and convincing. His answers to our many questions were direct, positive, authoritative. Above all, his audience prized his evident fairness and freedom from partisanship. His lecture could be properly described by the much-abused title "The Truth about Mexico." I wish that every thinking man and woman in the United States might have the benefit of his contribution to American understanding of the great problem beyond our Southern border—our own relations with our unhappy Southern neighbor.

Charles W. Ames,
President.

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

Boston, Mass.

As President of the Commercial Club of Boston, I had the pleasure of introducing Señor Emeterio de la Garza, Jr., who was the guest of the club last night. His address made a highly favorable impression. As an evidence of the interest that he aroused, I may say that when Señor de la Garza, Jr., stopped, after speaking for an hour, the club called loudly for an extension, and kept on clamoring for more until midnight was reached. I do not know that anything similar has happened before in the history of the club. Señor de la Garza, Jr., is a man of cultivation, with natural eloquence and a power of vivid description. He has long been intimately associated with the larger affairs of his country and is a serious student of the problems that confront it. He is certainly well worth hearing on a subject that must engross the attention of all who are seriously studying the problems of our international relations.

Richard C. Maclaurin,
President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK

EXTENSION TEACHING

THE INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

New York, N. Y.

It affords pleasure to state that Señor Emeterio de la Garza, Jr., lectured for us recently. His address was instructive, constructive, clear and statesmanlike, without "jingoism" and objectionable elements of any nature. He held our audience closely until the very end, although there was no effort on his part to entertain. After the lecture, the audience was permitted to ask questions, and his answers to the questions were brief, direct and enlightening.

The Institute of Arts and Sciences,

MILTON J. DAVIES.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

COLLEGE OF PHARMACY

New York, N. Y.

On Wednesday of last week, Señor Emeterio de la Garza, Jr., addressed the Wednesday Club of Newark on Mexican affairs. I was scheduled to participate in the discussion, but was unfortunately called away. Upon my return, I made very careful inquiries as to Señor Garza's statements, as a result of which *I am convinced that he is the prophet on this subject.* Please understand that I have no interest whatever in him, but only in the subject. So far as I recall, I have never met him, nor have I corresponded with him, as I am wholly unprejudiced. In fact, I anticipated being obliged to take issue with him in the discussion, expecting the usual mass of bombast of the Spanish-American. I have been hoping that I might myself have an opportunity of engaging public discussion on this subject and I should have taken practically the same ground that he has taken. *In my opinion, there is no one thing that would so tend to set this country right in its attitude towards, and treatment of, Mexico, as to have Señor Garza, Jr.'s views made generally known to our people.* I doubt if we ever had a man at the Wednesday Club whose address took so strong a hold on the meeting as this one. You could not possibly make a mistake in gaining for Señor Garza, Jr., the widest possible hearing in the United States.

H. H. RUSBY,

Dean.

SAINT PAUL ASSOCIATION OF COMMERCE

St. Paul, Minn.

There is in Saint Paul a man—Señor Emeterio de la Garza, Jr.—who has made a great impression here and in Minneapolis and whose appearance before our Association of Commerce and the Minneapolis Civic and Commerce Association resulted in a small group of public-spirited men taking hold of Señor de la Garza, Jr.'s, itinerary with the idea of having representative business audiences throughout the country hear him.

No man appearing at our weekly open forum luncheons has made anything like the impression which the Señor left with his audience. He spoke for an hour and a half to our members and they would have heard him further had he been willing to go on. The Señor spoke for two hours to the Minneapolis Civic and Commerce Association members and at the end of his address members of his audience besieged him with requests for further information. The Señor also has appeared before a number of clubs in the Twin Cities and each time has made a striking impression.

Personally I consider him a rare attraction for any audience.

E. M. McMahon, General Secretary.

SAINT PAUL ASSOCIATION OF COMMERCE

St. Paul, Minn.

The Mexican Situation

Close to five hundred members of the association, at the Wednesday Forum Luncheon, at the Hotel Saint Paul, heard Hon. Emeterio de la Garza, Jr., former member of the Mexican Chamber of Deputies, discuss the topic: "What is Wrong with Mexico?"

No speaker at the series of Wednesday Luncheon Talks has interested his audience more than did Señor de la Garza, Jr.

President Dittenhofer extended the time limit for speaking to permit an hour and one-half's exposition of the absorbing theme so intelligently and so dramatically presented by the distinguished Mexican. In doing so, President Dittenhofer announced that diners might leave the Palm Room at any time during the progress of the address without offense to the speaker. But the majority of the members elected to remain throughout Señor de la Garza, Jr.'s, discussion.

It was a strong tribute to the interest in the Mexican theme and particularly to the man who spoke. Señor de la Garza, Jr., was brought to the city by the Saint Paul Institute and addressed a large audience at the Church Club, Tuesday night. This first appearance made such an excellent impression, that the attendance at Wednesday's luncheon swept beyond all advance arrangements.

There were two hundred and sixty-seven acceptances to the luncheon. Within a short time after the doors to the Palm Room were opened, more than three hundred men had taken seats. It was necessary for something over one hundred members to lunch in the Grand Café and return to the Palm Room for the speaking.

Harrison Hatton.

MINNEAPOLIS CIVIC & COMMERCE ASSOCIATION

Minneapolis, Minn.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

In behalf of the members of the Minneapolis Civic & Commerce Association, let me thank Señor de la Garza, Jr. for the splendid talk which he gave before us at our meeting, November 29. The appreciation of his address was shown by the fact that practically the whole audience of busy business men remained long after their usual lunch hour to hear him complete his presentation of this most interesting subject.

We are sending, under separate cover, copies of the Wednesday afternoon papers containing accounts of his address.

A. M. SHELDON, President.

St. Paul, Minn.

During Señor de la Garza, Jr.'s recent visit to this locality it was my pleasure to hear him in St. Paul and in Minneapolis; and, also, I have talked with a great many people who have heard him on two other occasions here when I was not present. The consequence is, I am able to speak not only for myself, but to voice the concensus of opinion here as to his venture into the lecture field. To sum it up in a few words, it is the general opinion, and mine, that he has a very interesting and timely story to tell, and he speaks *ex cathedra* and in a most stirring and attractive manner. His amazingly fluent use of our English language was not the least interesting feature of his talks.

CHARLES W. FARNHAM.

Minneapolis, Minn.

Mexico and those who have the interest of Mexico at heart can congratulate themselves in having a man of Señor de la Garza, Jr.'s abilities travel throughout the United States and deliver such "heart to heart" talks as he yesterday gave to the members of the Civic and Commerce Association at their fortnightly combined meeting and noon-day luncheon at the Hotel Dyckman of this city.

I have heard so many satisfactory and highly complimentary expressions of his good self and the subject he so masterly handled that I am quite delighted in having the pleasure and honor of his long acquaintance and friendship.

If I can serve him in any way during his sojourn in this part of the country, he is at liberty to command me.

JOSEPH TUTEUR.

KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS
HENNEPIN-MINNEAPOLIS COUNCIL

Minneapolis, Minn.

"May I wish for you in your approaching campaign of education the greatest success and I am conveying to you on behalf of The Hennepin-Minneapolis Council our warmest congratulations and appreciation of your splendid talk given before the club members and friends last Tuesday evening."

D. M. RYAN.

COLLEGE OF ST. THOMAS

St. Paul, Minn.

"With regard to Señor de la Garza, Jr.'s, visit to this college, it gives me much pleasure to say that he delivered a very informing and illuminating lecture on the course of events in Mexico during the past six years. He held the attention of the student body for over an hour and a half, analyzing, in a brief but masterly fashion, the causes which underlie the Mexican situation, and finishing with a vivid description of the events that culminated in the overthrow of Madero. This latter portion of his lecture had all the interest which only a tragic story can have when told by an eye witness."

H. MOYNIHEM, President.

KIWANIS CLUB OF CLEVELAND

Cleveland, Ohio

On behalf of the Kiwanis Club of Cleveland I wish to thank Señor de la Garza, Jr. for that most enlightening address on "Problems of Mexico" that he delivered before our club in such a clear, concise and perfectly frank manner. It was by far the best address on Mexico that has been delivered before our club.

Trusting that we may have the pleasure of hearing him soon again,

O. K. DORN, President.

THE CLEVELAND CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Cleveland, Ohio

I feel constrained to tell you how much we all enjoyed Señor de la Garza, Jr.'s, address here, how grateful we are to you and others for suggesting his name to us, and how clearly and forcefully, and at times eloquently, the cause of Mexico was presented.

It is our custom to adjourn our meetings at 1.30 o'clock promptly. By a practically unanimous demand of his audience, Señor de la Garza, Jr., continued to talk until 2.15. At the end of that time he insisted that the meeting should adjourn, since he had occupied so much more time than is our custom. From 2.15 until nearly 4 o'clock, a group of nearly one hundred men gathered around Señor de la Garza, Jr., in our library, asking questions and listening to his further exposition of his plan for the reorganization and enlightenment of his country.

In short, the event was a distinct success, and we are all very happy about it.

MUNSON HAVENS, Secretary.

TWENTIETH CENTURY CLUB OF CLEVELAND

Cleveland, Ohio

As President of the Twentieth Century Club of Cleveland, I take this pleasure in saying that the address delivered before the club in this city, on Wednesday evening last, on Mexico, was interesting and informing to an unusual degree. I believe that those who listened to this address will continue to feel that they know more about real conditions in Mexico and have a more intelligent notion of the Mexican problem as now presented than they have heretofore had. *I am sure that if Señor de la Garza, Jr., continued to work along the lines which he has laid down, the result will be that many people in this country will be more intelligently informed in regard to Mexico than they can be from any other source that I am in touch with.* It is evident that the Mexican problem today is one in regard to which even the intelligent students of political economic questions in this country are at sea. We are anxious to be convinced that a war with Mexico would be a great misfortune as well as a great mistake, but we are above all, anxious to know what the United States can do for Mexico with a view to eventually assisting her to rise above the terrible misfortunes which have befallen her and the grave difficulties that are now presented to her. I feel that this commendation of Señor de la Garza, Jr., and this endorsement of his address to our club will, perhaps, be useful to you and helpful to him.

H. P. EELLS, President.

UNIVERSITY CLUB, LAWRENCE, KANSAS

Lawrence, Kansas

I am pleased to state that Señor de la Garza, Jr., gave a lecture at the University here, which commanded the interest of every one who heard it. In the evening we gave an informal smoker in his honor at the University Club which was attended by about sixty men. They were all captivated by him so much that it was after twelve before the last ones left for home. Señor de la Garza, Jr., gave us a delightful talk and spent the rest of the evening answering questions in his delightful manner. We would all be pleased to have him return to us.

JOHN N. VAN DER VRIES,
Chairman Entertainment Committee.

THE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION DIVISION, Lawrence, Kansas
Office of the Director.

Referring to the address of Señor de la Garza, Jr., everyone was delighted with his presentation of the subject, and was especially glad to get a first-hand account from an authoritative source of the conditions in Mexico. In that connection let me say that in addition to his address before the University, we had him speak to the members of the University Club on Friday evening. There was a full attendance and every one liked him very much.

F. R. HAMILTON, Director.

THE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

Lawrence, Kansas

HISTORY AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

Frank Heywood Hofder, Blaine Free Moore, Clarence A. Dykastra, David Leslie Patterson, William Watson Davis, Clarence C. Crawford, Frank Edgar Melvin

It was a great pleasure to hear Señor de la Garza, Jr. and we envy the people of Minnesota the opportunity they have to hear him so completely on that most absorbing of topics, Mexico. Everybody wants him to come back to Lawrence to lecture again on the same subject. His talk at the University Club on "The Ten-Day Tragedy in Mexico City" has been commented on again and again as one of the finest and most interesting things ever heard there.

DAVID L. PATTERSON,
President.

KANSAS STATE NORMAL SCHOOL

THOS. W. BUTCHER, *President*

Emporia, Kansas

"Señor Emeterio de la Garza, Jr., appeared before our students two or three weeks ago and gave one of the best addresses we have had in years. He held an audience of thirteen hundred people, one thousand of whom stood during the whole time, for an hour and a half. He speaks fluently and his English is unusually good."

THOS. W. BUTCHER,
President.

KNIFE AND FORK CLUB

Kansas City, Kansas

Señor Emeterio de la Garza, Jr., was our guest about a year ago. He made a very favorable impression while here and showed a thorough knowledge of the Mexican situation. He is a very good speaker, speaking English very well, and am sure all would be pleased with him.

FRED N. TUFTS,
Secretary.

POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE OF KANSAS CITY

Kansas City, Kansas

"I take the liberty of addressing you in order to express my appreciation of Señor Emeterio de la Garza, Jr., who visited the city recently. Señor de la Garza, Jr., spoke before the Knife and Fork Club, and the press praised his address very highly. The next day he was kind enough to address the student body of this institution, and his rare command of English, his interesting personality and magnetic presence held the audience of 1,000 students spellbound. I take pleasure in expressing my high regard for Señor de la Garza, Jr., and for the work he is doing."

GABRIEL MADRID HERNANDEZ.

THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia, Pa.

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

"I had the pleasure of sitting on the same platform with Dr. de la Garza, Jr., a few weeks ago before the Outlook Club of Montclair, N. J., on which occasion he made an excellent impression. He has a fluent command of English, is eloquent in manner, and the substance of his lecture threw a new light on the Mexican situation for those who were present. After his lecture I heard very generous comments of satisfaction and approval."

L. S. ROWE, President.

OUTLOOK CLUB OF MONTCLAIR, N. J.

Montclair, N. J.

"It occurs to me to write you concerning our last meeting of the Outlook Club. The subject of the meeting was the Mexican problem, and the two speakers were Hon. Emeterio de la Garza, Jr., of Mexico, and Dr. L. S. Rowe, of the University of Pennsylvania. Señor de la Garza, Jr., was recommended to me by Hon. John Barrett, head of the Pan-American Union, as one of the best-posted men on Mexico, and his address before us fully justified Mr. Barrett's recommendation. Señor de la Garza, Jr., has published considerable matter in the papers regarding his position with reference to the Mexican situation and wants to undertake public addresses in various parts of the United States before clubs, commercial bodies, etc. Señor de la Garza, Jr., is a man of great prominence in Mexico, a forceful and interesting speaker and has the most important message regarding Mexico of any speaker I have ever heard."

CHARLES WHITING BAKER, President.

SOCIETE DES BEAUX ARTS

New York City, N. Y.

I wish to express to you the pleasure that the Hon. Emeterio de la Garza, Jr., gave to me and the members of the Sociëtë Des Beaux Arts with his splendid and comprehensive talk on Mexico at the last meeting of my organization. As president of several clubs in this country and France, and in turn a lecturer of experience before many societies and educational institutions all over the country, I feel quite safe in saying that Señor de la Garza, Jr.'s work on the platform cannot fail to interest all who are seeking the truth about the conditions existing in Mexico today. MME. MARIE CROSS NEWHAUS, President.

New York City, N. Y.

"I take great pleasure in pronouncing Señor de la Garza, Jr., one of the most intelligent and astute thinkers of Mexico, besides being extraordinarily well equipped as to its historical, political and social questions. Señor de la Garza, Jr., is a most resourceful and interesting speaker, in fact, I know of no one I would rather hear discuss Mexico, as it would be impossible to hear Señor de la Garza, Jr., and not come away with a clearer knowledge of the Mexican situation and with much new food for serious thought."

JAMES HAROLD WARNER

New York City, N. Y.

"It may be a little egotistical in me to make this statement, but I do it for the reason that, having an intimate knowledge of the Mexican people—their temperamental peculiarities—their point of view, political and social, etc., all of which are so strongly opposed to ours, that *I feel that the people of this country who are fortunate enough to hear Señor de la Garza, Jr.'s, lecture will have an entirely different opinion of the situation in that desolate country.* Personally, I believe Señor de la Garza, Jr., is one of the few absolutely honest, disinterested Mexicans in that republic, and I feel quite sure from my knowledge of the man and the work that he has been doing for several years, that he is actuated solely by the love of his people and from the loftiest patriotic motives—two qualities that would add force to anything he may have to say."

L. C. TETARD, Banker.

Washington, D. C.

"Señor Emeterio de la Garza, Jr.'s, story of the ten-day tragedy in Mexico is one of the most thrilling I have ever heard and when he told it to my wife and I, I said to him that if he could go on the platform and tell the story to an audience as he told it to us, I believe that his speech would almost make a sensation and would certainly be full of thrilling interest.

"I have had a little experience in public lecturing and I think I know something of the public taste and therefore I feel that I am indulging in no empty phrase when I say that I congratulate you on having the opportunity of putting Señor de la Garza, Jr., before the public. I can imagine nothing that would be more interesting to the people of the North and East."

JAMES L. SLAYDEN, Congressman from Texas.

New York City, N. Y.

"As one of the executive committee of the Round Table, I wish to tell you of our deep appreciation of your recent address at Teachers' College. It is very seldom that I have seen an audience so completely *en rapport* with the speaker, and its responsiveness must have been very manifest to you. So clearly and forcefully did you present the fundamental conditions underlying the whole Mexican situation, and so evident was the sincerity and purity of motive detached from all partisanship or factionalism, that the whole assemblage seemed imbued with the idea. 'Here at last is the truth about our distressed Southern neighbor. What can we do to help her? To whom in Mexico can we look for cooperation in her redemption?' That was the uppermost idea. '*What* can we do and *how*, and *with whom*, shall we do it?' You doubtless have long since discovered, if you did not primarily realize it, that there is no feeling of antagonism toward the Mexican people. It is not even passive. It is actively and positively kindly and friendly, ready to serve when and where it may."

CHARLES EDEY FAY

New York City, N. Y.

"In behalf of the officers and members of the Round Table, I beg to express to you our sincere thanks for your kindness in addressing our recent meeting. The picture of Mexican life, conditions and needs which you so vividly drew, and the appeal for the friendship of the people of the United States, for which you so eloquently pleaded, made a profound impression upon all your hearers, and I am sure must result in some good to the cause you represent."

THOMAS V. GREENE

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

New York City, N. Y.

"I have just returned to my room after hearing your most interesting and enlightening presentation of the Mexican question, and I wish to take this first opportunity to express to you my sympathy and appreciation. I was the young man who spoke to you after the talk down front near the platform, just after the other man proposed to put you in touch with *The Outlook* people. And it was I who spoke in Spanish to express to you sincerely my sympathy for Mexico and desire to help her in years to come."

LEOWITT O. WRIGHT.

THE WEDNESDAY CLUB, NEWARK, N. J.

Newark, N. J.

Our men were greatly pleased with Señor de la Garza, Jr., last evening. He surely knows what he is talking about. The hour following the main address was especially interesting, for it was spent in replies by the Señor to a volley of questions. He ought to be heard by all thinking Americans.

J. M. COBB,
Secretary.

UNIVERSITY CLUB OF BRIDGEPORT

Bridgeport, Conn.

"Señor Emeterio de la Garza, Jr., delivered a lecture entitled 'What is Wrong with Mexico?' before the University Club of this city on the evening of October 19. Other lectures have been heard in Bridgeport upon the various phases of the Mexican difficulty, but both the point of view of Señor de la Garza, Jr., and his proposed remedy for the existing abuses were entirely novel to us. It was impossible to listen to him without appreciating his complete mastery of the subject and his profound sincerity. The evening proved not only thoroughly instructive but also very delightful."

SAMUEL F. BEARDSLEY,
President.

UNIVERSITY CLUB

Pittsburgh, Pa.

"I wish to thank you again in the name of our club for the very beneficial and interesting lecture you gave. I have never seen our members more interested in any talk at the club, and I am sure they all enjoyed it as much as I did personally. I will be very glad indeed to hear from you from time to time and will be much interested in the progress you make in explaining the problem of your country to our people."

JOHN R. CHISLETT,
Chairman Entertainment Committee.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

"Everyone who was fortunate enough to hear your lecture last Saturday evening seems to be very much impressed, and I have heard a great many men, who were not there, express regret at being unable to be present. Your talk did more for the cause of Mexico than any amount of newspaper publicity could possibly do because of the fact that it was absolutely free from factionalism and the impression created was that you spoke only for the good of your country.

A. B. BERGER

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH
GRAND BOULEVARD

Pittsburgh, Pa.

"We recall with very great pleasure Señor de la Garza, Jr.'s visit to the University and trust that the way may be clear for his return some time in the future."

S. B. LINHART,
Secretary.

CARNEGIE INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
SCHENLEY PARK

Pittsburgh, Pa.

"Señor de la Garza, Jr. spoke before the assembly of the school of Applied Industries, Carnegie Institute of Technology, in March, 1917. I can say unhesitatingly that no address ever given before this student body met with such spontaneous and hearty approval. The result was that he was invited to speak a second time. The second assembly was held after school hours, at perhaps the most unlikely hour of the week, but the attendance was even larger, and for almost one hour and a half he held the students spell-bound with this story of "What is Wrong with Mexico?."

Señor de la Garza, Jr. is a forceful speaker and certainly stirs his audience by the surprising array of facts about the much misunderstood Mexico, as well as by the real eloquence of his delivery.

CLIFFORD B. CONNELLEY,
Dean of the School of Applied Industries, Carnegie Institute of Technology.

THE PROGRESS SOCIETY OF THE ROCKAWAYS

Far Rockaway, New York City

"I am pleased to say that Señor Emeterio de la Garza, Jr.'s, lecture before this society last November was in every way acceptable. He impressed his audience with his sincerity, held them by a coherent exposition of his facts, interested them to a lively discussion following his discourse and left them with a clearer understanding of Mexico's problems and our relations thereto."

J. LAUCHEIMER,
President.

THE HANDLEY LIBRARY

Winchester, Va.

"Señor de la Garza, Jr., delivered his lecture, "What is Wrong with Mexico?" in Winchester and made a very favorable impression on an audience of more than 500 people. He is a brilliant man and thoroughly knows his subject and presents original ideas. You will find that he modifies his personal opinions, that his public utterances may not have a political significance. He gives his audiences ample opportunity, however, to ask any questions that they wish."

C. VERNON EDDY,
Librarian.

BUFFALO CLUB

Buffalo, N. Y.

"Señor Emeterio de la Garza, Jr., in his recent lecture at our club was very well received indeed by our members, who were impressed with his sincerity, and consider that he told his story of Mexico in a most interesting manner."

J. H. McNULTY,
Chairman Entertainment Committee.

WOMAN'S CLUB

Cedar Rapids, Iowa

"We were very much pleased with the address given by Señor de la Garza Jr., and consider him a forceful speaker."

MRS. R. K. SMITH,
Corresponding Secretary.

New York City, N. Y.

Señor de la Garza, Jr.'s, patriotic efforts to save Mexico, his views and plans for the pacification and prosperity of the distracted country, have produced a striking sensation in the United States and obtained unparalleled wonderful success. He has the unanimous endorsement of all those who are fortunate enough to hear him. He is fascinating, convincing, irrefutable. After hearing Señor de la Garza, Jr.'s, masterpiece of revelation, treatment and cure, one cannot help but to say: "Mexico can be saved."

WILLIAM S. SMITH

New York City, N. Y.

"I am very pleased to learn that my friend, Emeterio de la Garza, Jr. is going to take the platform and is going to give the public the advantage of his thorough knowledge of Mexican affairs acquired by many years of official experience in governmental matters. The interest which he has in Mexico, his devotion to its welfare, and the close personal relation in which he has stood to the now prominent personages of the country is certain to render his message both attractive and instructive.

DR. C. H. PARKHURST

New York City, N. Y.

"I was fortunate to participate in your discussion on "Ways and Means of the Mexican Situation," and, putting it mildly, I not only enjoyed your outlined proposition, but fully agree with your sentiments. I feel that I ought to give expression to show you my appreciation, and the profound respect I have for you.

"Would it be asking too much to grant me an interview, at any time convenient to yourself? I will feel obligated by your granting me such request, if you will kindly state time and place of rendezvous.

S. H. PERLEY

Los Angeles, Cal.

"Señor Emeterio de la Garza, Jr., is a man who, by reason of his natural qualities, his associations with and knowledge of his people of all classes, and his clear recognition of their needs and wishes, unalloyed by prejudice of any sort, is best fitted to his work.

"I am intimately acquainted with all of Mexico at end North of Mexico City. I have traveled over it afoot, on mule back, by wagon and train. I have enjoyed the hospitality of hut and palace and among all I have met, in whatever walk of life, Señor de la Garza, Jr., is best qualified to tell the story.

"Before and above all, Señor de la Garza, Jr., is a true patriot, a lover of his country, devoted to her language, her customs, her service and her fate.

"I have seen the best of Mexico assembled around Señor de la Garza Jr.'s, table where he was easily the admired leader, the observant and tactful host, the brilliant and witty conversationalist. Many an after-dinner cigar we have enjoyed on the roof of his palace, in the days when Mexican gentlemen occupied their palaces, while he discoursed at length on the future of his country, the needs, ideals and aspirations of her people and the sources whence they might be met.

"I have always looked upon Señor de la Garza, Jr., and I do now, as the one man who shall ultimately lead his people to their rightful, 'place in the sun.'"

W. W. ALLEN

Abeline, Texas.

"I have personally known Señor de la Garza, Jr., for about thirty years, both in and out of Mexico, and have had business and social relations with him, and know his father and his mother. No man has higher ideals than Señor de la Garza, Jr. He is both just and generous, and he knows how to dispense these virtues. He is an American through and through, educated in the schools of Mexico City, and a post-graduate of Cornell University of New York. He understands the Roman and civil law, the common law of England and as interpreted by our courts; also our civil and criminal code of procedure. I never met a man better equipped for all the affairs of life than Señor de la Garza, Jr. He has a vast amount of energy and push, a man of strong purposes and convictions. He is the man for president of that Republic, because he is of the people, and will be elected by the people to that position if they ever have the opportunity, and I am sure will serve them and bring their country out of chaos and ruin into order and peace, prosperity and harmony. He belongs to that school of politics that trace their principles and policy back to Benito Juarez, with whom his father served."

MORRIS R. LOCK

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY CLUB OF CLEVELAND

Cleveland, Ohio.

It is with real enthusiasm that I sit down to write you that Señor de la Garza, Jr. more than fullfiled your predictions regarding him, at our meeting of the Twentieth Century Club, Wednesday evening. I believe it is no exaggeration to say that we have never had a more interesting address by any speaker during the six years of our existence as a club, and surely none other where the honesty of purpose and earnestness of conviction were so apparent, as they were in Señor de la Garza, Jr.'s most eloquent speech. He should be heard in every large city of this country in the next five months and I hope steps will be at once taken to bring him back to Cleveland to speak before a larger assemblage.

MARTHA B. SANDERS,
Secretary

Señor de la Garza, Jr., apologizes to those of his friends whose letters of commendation, though fully appreciated, are not published by reason of time and space.

FROM THE NEW YORK *SUN*

MARCH 15, 1914

NATIONAL UNION TO RECONCILE WARRING FACTIONS IN MEXICO

By Emeterio de la Garza, Jr.

To calm the political upheaval which now disturbs the Mexican nation and to avoid those that will come hereafter, more and more frequently and with increasing intensity unless we now suppress the internecine war which is consuming the country, it will be necessary to take immediate action lest by delay we provoke a foreign war which will put an end to the independence of the republic.

Having lived in political intimacy with the last four presidents of Mexico, namely, Gen. Diaz, Licenciado de la Barra, Señor Madero and Gen. Huerta, which placed me in a position to gain a perfect knowledge of the working of their respective governments and to come into intimate contact with the public men of my country, I have been able to penetrate deeply into the causes which have brought about the present conditions. I have seen the genesis of our misfortunes, the beginnings of the revolutions which have overturned one administration after another.

We Mexicans are presenting a sad picture to the world; one which gives the impression that there can be no union among us, that we have no patriotism, that we have lost all sense of reason and dignity and that we will also lose our national integrity inasmuch as our people are either totally indifferent to our misfortunes or are extremists to an extent bordering on insanity. There are even some who desire and even advocate the intervention of the United States in our internal affairs, regardless of the inevitable result of such interference.

Throughout there has not been one Mexican who heretofore has raised his voice in defence of Mexico *as a nation*, upholding the rights of our country. I take this occasion to sever my connection with friend and foe, to break the chain of personal attachment within which life enmeshes us as in a net and which, in the name of friendship, of loyalty, gratitude, respect and other beautiful Latin attributes, has debarred me from fulfilling my duties as a citizen as intensely and completely as I could have wished.

Thus determined I declined the appointment of Consul-General of Mexico to Paris, which was bestowed upon me by the autograph letter of President Huerta, which I now have. Likewise I declined to occupy a seat as a member of the new Chamber of Deputies to which I was elected and insistently and urgently called upon to fill by repeated telegrams from President Huerta himself, because I desired to be free, for the first time in my life, to perform the duties to my country as I understood them.

According to Napoleon it cost Hannibal one-half of his army, 36,000 men, to cross the Alps and to gain the privilege of selecting the battlefield which should be propitious to the fulfillment of his great destiny. I have lost the half of my life bowing to the prejudices dominant in Mexico, which are harder to break through than the adamantine rocks of the Alps and loftier than their summits, in order to reach this battlefield where the independence and integrity of my country shall be the vital question, and where I shall be free to present the case in its proper light and to fight for the national life, honor and liberty.

Between the Government, with its partisans and friends, which rules the major portion of the republic, and the revolution, with its partisans and friends, which rules several of the northern States, a solid wall of prejudice and hatred has been built up, dividing the country and the Mexican people upon the basis of old personal differences of race and education which no power can avoid nor wisdom shun.

This wall is based upon the hatred of parties and upon political passions, always inconstant and short lived, and to the destruction of it all of us should contribute. It has been strengthened by an obstinate and unwavering intolerance always exerted in wrong directions; an intolerance which presumes everything, asserts everything and passes judgment upon all. On each side of this wall the so-called Huertistas and Carranzistas have raised their flags with the well-known and deceitful motto of all our political struggles: "Legality," "Constitution" and "Liberty."

The members of each party assume that disinterestedness, self-denial, courage and victory reside solely upon that side of the wall from which they speak; according to their point of view their opponents cannot be otherwise than banditti, criminals and traitors, and as such evildoers breathing selfishness, cowardice, dishonor and ruin to the country.

All that happens on one side of the wall only draws from the other a shower of insults and imprecations, though the shouters may be doing the same things, or worse, on their own side. The astounding facility with which either of these

parties declares its opponents as assassins, traitors and cowards and condemns them to death can only be compared to the unconscious fury of the elements of nature.

Both Government and revolution have gone mad; whether by night or day they commit acts of violence and allow themselves excesses which result in panic. They have lost the social respect, they have lost all dignity and rendered themselves unable to govern Mexico.

After all Gen. Huerta can be nothing more than the provisional President, who shall finally call the people to hold elections; Señor Carranza or any one else cannot be more than the temporary President, who shall convene the people and hold elections. Neither the chiefs nor the leaders of either of the two warring factions will govern the country in the future; none of them should do so unless it be in accordance with the legal requirements and precepts of the Constitution of the republic. Men who reckon their brave deeds by the number of their brethren they have killed, who reckon their wealth by the number of families ruined, who reckon their glories by the number of defenceless and innocent persons butchered, cannot govern a people, because crime never was a reason for promotion to the Presidency. It only deserves the scaffold.

We must rescue Mexico from the bloody hands which ensanguine all within their reach; we must free the republic so that it shall not fall again into the slavery of vice and ignorance.

We cannot longer endure a sectarian and extremest government as it is understood and practised by the fanatic, whether he be religionist, politician or militarist; neither can we tolerate one organized after the savage democracy of the unrestrained Maderista or the dominance of the all-powerful Diaz.

Since the independence of Mexico, she has been ruled by two Emperors and many Presidents, but of them all only three Governments can be properly named as such, because they really governed, to wit: the glorious government of Juarez, the lawful one of Lerdo and the omnipotent one of Diaz. It is high time for us to organize a national government, following the orderly, philosophical and political course of civilization and humanity.

How shall such a government be organized? It shall be organized by itself, by the necessity for peace, by the horror of war, by the loss of blood, life and money which cannot longer be endured. By the cruelty and excess indulged in by the fighting factions, by the universal aspiration and desire that peace shall be reestablished; this government shall be organized by public opinion which willingly or unwillingly will restore us to reason and the observance of law. This government shall be organized, in fine, by the National Union.

The remedy to our situation, let me repeat, will be found in organizing a government which shall not represent exclusively one or another of the political factions; a government which shall not become a tool of revenge and chastisement in the hands of a victorious faction bound to annihilate its opponent. I earnestly believe in a popular, legitimate and national government, the resultant of an amalgamation of all enterprising agencies, of all healthy elements, of all social classes, converging into and forming a union of all the members and all the activities of the Mexican nation.

To our shame be it said that Mexico is today the only country in the world which is torn by the horrors of civil war. The pacification of the republic cannot be accomplished at the cannon's mouth; it can never be achieved by stern military measures whose end is death. Such measures must be accompanied by those of a political and social character tending toward conciliation and progress.

To restore peace in Mexico we must first solve the financial problem, not with limited, extraordinary measures in whose train disastrous consequences follow, but with plentiful and far-seeing methods which, while relieving the stringency, provide a safe margin and afford time to save the country for the discharge of its obligations.

We must solve the agrarian problem, allotting lands to the Indians whose sole ambition and supreme happiness in life is to reach the state of small land owners, unable as they are to succeed in any other field. To be a small land owner is, in their belief, to attain the greatest well being. This agrarian reform should be accomplished, not by despoiling the large owner of his property, but by full recognition of his rights and compensation therefor.

It is necessary to solve the labor problem and the wage problem, which are one. We must recognize that the peon who has been leading the easy life of a soldier will not return to the old system of *peonage* and slavery, yoked to his task by a wage of from thirty to fifty centavos a day. We must offer them a higher standard of life, better opportunity for progress, the treatment and consideration of human beings; otherwise they will remain bandits forever.

It is necessary to solve the political problem through the enactment of laws and the establishment of reforms which shall suit the present condition of the people and lead them to better things; reforms which shall draw the people to the support of the Government because its regime renders life attractive and easy. An important part of this problem is the establishment of a

compulsory educational sytem, calculated to fit the people—all the people—to exercise the elective franchise intelligently.

It is necessary to solve the military problem and bring to terms the enemies of public order. Mexico will need and should have a comparatively small, but efficient, standing army, which, while capable of preserving the peace and honor of the country, shall not be a serious drawing upon its finances.

Thus we see how greatly those err who endeavor to restore peace in Mexico by force alone.

The Government cannot subdue the revolution because, instead of adopting a tolerant, conciliatory and energetic policy within the law, it has become cruel in the extreme and so only succeeds in spreading terror and provoking reaction. The revolution cannot win because the right manner in which to avenge the death of Madero—if Madero's death should call for revenge—is not by killing thousands of men, women and children who had nothing to do with his death; neither is the Constitution served by plundering and burning cities and towns, tearing up railroads and destroying bridges, nor in spreading wholesale destruction to the ruin and desolation of the country. None of these is the best way to reestablish the Constitution—allowing that the Constitution was ever enforced.

Having before us this distressing situation, with all lawful authority destroyed, the Ten Commandments altogether abandoned and armed intervention threatening our borders, now springs forth this spontaneous, patriotic and genuinely Mexican movement calling upon all good citizens, in the name of the distressed motherland, to give it their cooperation; a movement which shall be disinterested and impersonal, asking all national and foreign progressive elements to help us in the defence of truth and law and inviting the friends of peace and order to aid and foster it through every channel, all working in conjunction for the organization of the national union.

Let us convene, as an immediate practical result of the movement, a peace congress, which, upon neutral ground and on a basis of absolute impartiality and national and international integrity, shall discuss and resolve upon the reconstruction of Mexico in the light of the Constitution and of the aspirations of its people, thereby restoring peace to Mexico and putting her back in her place among the nations of the earth.

The congress will select an impartial committee of representative citizens, made up of conservative and responsible men of all parties.

Prepare plans for reorganizing the national finances, restoring the public credit and promoting economic reforms which will do justice to the masses.

Announce that if the officers, leaders and soldiers on both sides lay down their arms and submit to proper law control, provision will be made for their payment and amnesty will be passed on all their debts and doings and their work will be pardoned and forgiven forever.

Consider the reform of the land laws, consulting foreign experts and experience, if necessary, but acting in the matter upon their own independent initiative.

Reorganize the public debt, negotiate loans which will permit the restoration of the monetary standard, restore the public credit, pay the soldiers and rebuild the railroads.

Provide for honest elections under the charge of impartial representative men of all parties.

The present savage warfare is not only costing the country many precious lives and the destruction of property at home, but will also impose a heavy burden of public debt for indemnity to foreigners having property in Mexico, the interest on which will be a long-continued and unproductive burden upon the resources of the country.

The continuance of the present strife will find the resources of the country impaired to resist foreign intervention, which will almost certainly occur, either by the United States or a combination of powers, with the result of causing prolonged anarchy or the levy of the cost of intervention upon the Mexican people, if it is successful.

We must start anew in the work of liberation—liberation from the madness of revenge and all the passions that are driving our brothers at the present time. If human effort cannot alone relieve us of so many errors and misfortunes, let us turn our eyes to the God of nations and ask His divine grace to perform the most wonderful miracle of all, because we Mexicans also trust in God.

There are many international questions which have been discussed in the press and elsewhere which will not be treated of at the present moment.

It will be sufficient to say that whether the President of the United States was right or wrong (I do not believe he was right) in intervening in the internal affairs of Mexico; whether it would have been better or not (I believe it would have been better) to have recognized the Huerta Government in the beginning; whether, if once recognized, it would have been able or unable to settle the revolution, thus sparing the loss of life, wealth and property (I believe that all loss could have been spared), we are now confronted with a situation of fact which grows worse daily and is dragging us along toward a foreign war which

would have grave consequences for both parties and it behooves us to recognize the situation and meet it squarely, "with good will to all and malice toward none," and solve it in a practical and permanent manner. We believe the only possible course has been outlined herein.

The people of the United States should not be surprised by, nor alarmed over, the present conditions of Mexico, since they and we foresaw them years ago. I mean to say that during the last five years of ex-President Diaz's rule there was but one question here and there concerning Mexico: "After Diaz, what?"

We all knew and predicted that something extraordinary would follow the retirement of Gen. Diaz. It could not be otherwise after a vigorous personal government of thirty-five continuous years. Trouble had to come. That which now occurs in my country is in part a natural consequence of Diaz's long, absolute dictatorship.

All prepared for these disturbances, diplomatic agents, commercial agents, everybody interested in Mexico reported to their friends and principals that some great and sudden changes would then occur. Politicians, bankers, investors, all in dealing with Mexico and Mexican problems took such precautions as they thought best to meet the expected emergency, and now that it has come we should not forget these facts, nor permit ourselves to be unduly disturbed, The American people may safely rely upon the inborn national pride and patriotism of Mexico and we hope they may wisely aid us with their good will and moral support.

FROM THE NEW YORK *TIMES*

JUNE 19, 1914

TO SEEK SOLUTION OF MEXICO'S LAND PROBLEM ABROAD

SEÑOR DE LA GARZA, JR., NOTED LAWYER, ABANDONING HIS SEAT IN CONGRESS, WILL MAKE A WORLD-WIDE STUDY OF THE AGRARIAN PROBLEMS OF OTHER NATIONS, SO AS TO BE READY WITH SOME PRACTICAL PLAN WHEN THE REVOLUTION ENDS

By EDWARD MARSHALL

THAT the salvation of Mexico will not come through the work of any of the so-called "patriots" who lead their tatterdemalion armies into battle against the Federal troops; that it will not come through victories perching on the Federal banners; that it will not come through intervention by the United States; that, indeed, intervention is the course which would be surest to defer any satisfactory adjustment of affairs in the unhappy country, is the opinion of Señor Emeterio de la Garza, Jr., one of Mexico's most distinguished lawyers, a member of the Mexican Congress and son of a Justice of the Mexican Supreme Court, who is now in New York City.

He, however, is notable among Mexicans for having devised a definite plan whereby it seems not unlikely that the most acute woes of the distracted republic to the south of us might be ameliorated, or even ended, and is sufficiently possessed of the courage of his convictions to have refused high public office under Huerta in order to start into motion the wheels which he believes may carry his nation forward into peace and a greater prosperity than she has ever known. I have seen Huerta's letters to him and copies of his answers.

He seems to be unique among Mexican reformers in that he includes in his plan nothing that is political, and in that in his plan is no hint of a desire for personal office. It is his belief that some one must speedily devise a constructive plan for the rebuilding of the torn republic, and to that task he has formally dedicated his fortune and his life's effort.

In the present situation he sees no hope whatever; nor does he find any reason for belief that any of the programs advocated by any one of the Mexican leaders of today, even if carried sincerely to its ultimate conclusion, could really solve the formidable problem which is now presented in the fertile land beyond the Rio Grande.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEM

"Mexico's problem is economic and social, rather than political," he explained, "and, of course, can be solved, although it must at once be admitted that the conditions now existing in Mexico are not nor have ever been duplicated elsewhere.

"But nothing is officially under way, either in Mexico or the United States, which promises to produce the solution. Huerta? Carranza? Villa? Intervention? Peace with the United States? None of these details is primarily important.

"Leaders will not matter, one way or the other; intervention will not matter, one way or another. The one thing that can matter is the development of Mexico along modern lines.

"This must occur before pacification or, at least, anything like a permanent peace can be assured; and with that development which Mexico needs, and which is by no means beyond her reach, peace will come automatically, and with it that prosperity which may reasonably be expected of one of the world's richest countries.

"Land. Finance. They are the two magic words for Mexico.

"A constructive policy which not only will repair the ravages of war, but which will repair the still greater ravages that justly may be laid at the door of the sort of peace—the Diaz peace of the mailed hand, armed with a rifle—which preceded the present days of war must be put in operation before Mexico even can begin to see the light of hope.

"First in this policy must be something of the nature of a financial program, which will temporarily enable the country to transact its internal and foreign business after the anarchy which has come with the protracted war; but even such a policy, were it planned by the greatest genius that the world has ever known, would be certain to be ineffective unless it had as its foundation a reform of Mexico's land laws and the erection, as a part of her future, Governmental plan of some system which will not only correct past evils, but which, by giving the peon—the Indian—population lands of their own, will take the men of Mexico from warfare and make farmers of them.

"It is the duty of patriotic Mexicans, and I consider it especially my duty, to assist in the discovery of means by which these things may be

brought about. To this task I shall devote such of my life as may be necessary."

Coming from Señor de la Garza, Jr., this statement may be regarded as highly important. He represents progressive Mexico as few men do. Born in Monterey, State of Nuevo Leon, he was educated at Cornell University and at the National School of Law, Mexico City. He has been a member of the Mexican Congress ever since he reached the constitutional age of twenty-five until now, when he has rejected his credentials, because he considers them illegal, although his seat is still held open for him.

He was one of the Commissioners who were sent to the United States by the Diaz Government in 1903 to study our financial system and prepare laws for Mexican monetary reform. In Mexico City, until the beginning of his voluntary exile, he was one of the most important lawyers, acting as legal adviser to the Government in many important cases and as the representative of much American capital.

Last year he was intrusted by Gen. Huerta with the important task of touring the twenty-two States of Mexico in an attempt to being about peace; and, as the representative of the Central Government, he conferred with the legislative, executive, and judicial representatives of each State in this effort to rebuild the nation.

The result of this journey was unsatisfactory because Gen. Huerta either would not or could not fulfill the promises which were made.

Since then Señor de la Garza, Jr., has eschewed partizanship, preferring to be known as a "national man." Last year he was offered the office of Consul General to Paris, but refused it, and later rejected Gen. Huerta's personal request to return to Mexico and take his seat in the present Congress.

His, undoubtedly, was one of the loudest voices raised for the protection of American property at three stormy Cabinet meetings. He urged a proclamation declaring it to be the sacred duty of all Mexicans to indemnify foreigners for such losses as they had suffered, and the immediate payment of not less than twenty-five per cent. of the property values which may have been destroyed.

"If we cannot do better," he argued, "we must buy American interests at a fair price, and thus make spectators of them; whereas, they now are participants in the game. If this should cost five hundred millions Mexico would be the gainer by it, for it would leave her sovereign."

But against this the argument that the United States owed Mexico millions of indemnity, because the Washington Government was said to have encouraged Mexican revolutionists, prevailed, on the theory that this encouragement had resulted in the destruction of property, looting of cities, and vast loss of life.

"In order to support this claim," he told me, "the Mexican Government has long been busy with the preparation of a paper to be circulated among the governments of the world, formulating serious charges against the United States. This may never be presented now, but had things gone well with Gen. Huerta it surely would have been."

Finally Señor de la Garza, Jr., fully severed his connection with the present Mexican Government, although he was virtually offered his choice of Cabinet portfolios if he would join hands with it.

The crux of the situation lies in the land problem, he believes. "Mexico's land must be divided among the Indians," he assured me. "The ambition of almost every one of them is to become a small land owner. That alone will they accept in preference to the life of guerilla soldiery, which so many of them are now leading.

"Make them that and they will work with contentment toward the establishment of stable government, for, this having been accomplished, stable government will mean for them prosperity, comfort, and happiness. The stability of the Diaz Government did not mean that, but virtual slavery for them.

"Of course, the agrarian question includes other problems and impinges upon still others, but, in a general way, it may be regarded as the Mexican problem of the most importance.

Division Through Taxation

"The only divisions of the great estates which possibly can be made, must be brought about through taxation. The Mexican Constitution prohibits confiscation, and, of course, whatever is done as a solution of existing difficulties must be done in accordance with the Constitution or it will not stand.

"Property must be protected. A man can be dispossessed from his lands only by due process of law. A comparatively few large landholders to some extent must be dispossessed before anything of vital moment can be done, therefore the planning and adoption of effective laws which will make this possible without violation of the Constitution are essential.

"Madero's plan was simply to take the land by force from the great holders and to divide it among the people. But during his brief régime, although this had been the principal promise upon which he secured his following, he made no effort to begin this process. It was too obvious that he could not do it without violation of the Constitution.

"It was his avowed purpose to say to the large landholders: 'You have robbed the peon, now we shall take back that which you have stolen from him.'

"But these words were never spoken, for it is a fact that the revolution of the poor which unseated Diaz and put Madero into power was followed by a revolution of the rich, which not only unseated Madero, but destroyed him.

"That was what reached its climax on that tragic night when he was killed—it was a revolution of the rich against proposed injustices as great as those which in other days had been perpetrated against the poor.

"Reforms cannot be accomplished by bringing forth new wrongs as their remedies.

"Since Madero's death nothing real has been attempted. The Constitutionalists have gained their following through promulgating a program of land confiscation and division, but such tactics cannot win.

"I, myself, was consulted as a lawyer by some of the Constitutionalist leaders in regard to this matter of land confiscation. I told them that the plan was unconstitutional, being worse than that followed by President Juarez when he confiscated the property of those who had supported France when she was at war with Mexico.

"It would be supposed that if anything could be regarded as excusing seizure, such events as these would, but the Mexican Supreme Court, after that war was over, gave back to their original owners all the lands, nullifying the acts of Juarez; that is, its decisions rendered it necessary for those who had taken possession of the lands to pay rental to the original owners.

"The Constitution of Mexico says no punishmant shall be inflicted upon any one which shall fall upon others also. Punishments which include property confiscation do thus affect others, as, for example, those to whom the confiscated properties would naturally pass by right of succession.

"Under due and legal process of law an offender may be shot, but his property may not be confiscated. Such punishment, indeed, is contrary to all the laws of Mexico, and, no matter how emphatically people outside Mexico and some people within her borders may believe that she at present is in a lawless, anarchistic state, such a violation of her fundamental law as confiscation of large land-owner's property and its division among the Indians or any one else would eventually be declared invalid by her constituted courts. No title thus passed would be worth having.

"Therefore the only lawful process which I see by which the very necessary division of Mexican lands may be accomplished lies in taxation. If the right sort of land taxation laws be put in force, uncultivated and undeveloped land will become an intolerable burden to its owners.

No man could afford to retain ownership of great tracts of unproductive but well-taxed land. Sale or abandonment of much of the great properties would become, after the imposition of entirely reasonable taxation, an economical necessity to their owners."

I asked Señor de la Garza, Jr., if land is not already taxed in Mexico?

"Yes," he replied, "but by a most imperfect system, favoring the large landholders. Taxes are imposed upon properties as units, and land owners have found ways of insuring low estimates of the value of their holdings.

Taxes Too Small

"Great haciendas pay taxes as single properties, without regard to acreage, and these taxes are absurdly small in almost, if not every, instance, while the taxes paid upon small adjoining properties may be unjustly high. Political influence plays its part in the valuation of the great estates.

"Under the present system millions of acres are taxed at the rate which hundreds should be forced to pay, and, because of the power which ownership of the great estates carries with it, collections even of these silly little taxes are made in a slovenly manner or not at all.

"For the emphasis of this point it may be well to call the attention of the American newspaper-reading public to the fact that the owners of three estates under the present system were, before revolution interrupted the 'peaceful' conduct of Chihuahua State, the rulers of that great domain. Their power was practically absolute in a territory as large as that of all France.

"Of course, such a state of affairs cannot continue in this day and age. I think that in Chihuahua there are no small landowners, but there may be a few. If so, their holdings are absolutely insignificant.

"The reason for the starting of the revolution in Chihuahua, in Coahuila, and Durango was nothing but the failure to divide the land among the people, as had been promised by the Madero movement. Not a shot was fired in Guanajuato, Jalisco, Queretaro, Aguascalientes, and some other States in the Mesa Centrale, or central plateau, because there the land was more or less divided.

Millions of Acres Untaxed

"Such families as the Terrazas in Chihuahua, the Maderos in Coahuila, the de la Torres and Coronas in Morelos, the Molinas in Yucatan, own millions of acres, literally millions, which are

almost wholly undeveloped, only slightly cultivated, and practically untaxed.

"From this system has the evil of slavery sprung. Of course, Mexican slavery is not nominally that, but it is actually that. It has been brought about by small loans to the working classes—almost exclusively Indian—upon which heavy interest charges are made, through the sale by the haciendas, themselves, at whatever prices they may choose to set, often higher than the earning capacity of the Indians makes it possible for them to pay, of the merchandise necessary to their bare existence. An interest rate as high as ninety per cent. per annum is not unknown.

"Not the body but the labor of the peon who is in debt to the landed proprietor is the worker's nominal liability, but this ownership of service is so absolute that if the peon tries to get away, leaving debt behind him, he may be arrested and legally punished.

"The rarity of the peon who is not in debt in Mexico may be indicated by the fact that on many of the estates the debts of great-grandfathers are held against the present generation of peons. For a peon to discharge his debts is absolutely out of the question, his wages ranging as low as thirty-five cents a day, Mexican, or about fifteen or twenty cents a day American money.

"Peonage of this sort may readily be believed to carry with it all the evils of actual slavery, including ignorance, unspeakable poverty, drunkenness (for drink is the only thing the Mexican peon can get cheaply), and such immoralities as would stagger the average American to think of, including frequent incestual conditions of living.

"From peonage only a solution of the land problem can offer any possible escape. The futility of the existing revolutions, for there are several really in progress, in spite of the general American impression that only one general and fairly well-organized revolt is under way, may be well indicated by the statement that not one of the revolutionary leaders has offered even a tentative suggestion as to how the national puzzle may be effectually worked out.

"Madero's confiscatory and, therefore, logically and legally impossible plan comprises the only one which has been offered. Huerta has not even suggested that he has a plan. Villa, Carranza—all of the revolutionary leaders, are as wholly lacking in ideas.

"Nowhere is there now, nor has there been at any time, a single practical suggestion in regard to this important matter; therefore it may be said that while the existing Government in Mexico is shown by this to be entirely incompetent to draw my unhappy country out of the quagmire of disorder and distress into which it has fallen, it is equally impossible to expect anything in the least better for it from any of the so-called 'reform' movements now in progress.

"This seems to present a very hopeless picture. Doubtless the picture would be wholly hopeless were it not for the fact that humanity, in Mexico or elsewhere, ever has refused to tolerate a hopeless situation.

"Other nations have worked out the land problem. It has nowhere been found to be insuperable. Difficult as it is, it will not be found to be insuperable in Mexico.

The Only Remedy

"For the situation as it stands there is but one remedy: a careful study of the methods which have been applied in other countries, and then an equally careful working out of a new system which shall be applicable to Mexican conditions.

"Confiscation being unconstitutional, taxation, as I have said, must be the tool with which salvation is carved out. This must be studied in Ireland, in Japan, in Russia, in Italy, where somewhat, although never exactly, similar conditions have existed and have in some measure been straightened out.

"No immigrant would at present go to Mexico, although it is the richest country in the world, and should logically offer to immigration such opportunities as no other country on the globe can offer.

"We must know why they cannot come. We must so arrange affairs that they will come. And everything which is done in Mexico toward solution of the problem must not only conform to the letter and spirit of the Mexican Constitution, but must satisfy the demands of foreign governments and investors, if for no other reason than because we must get the money for our national development from abroad.

"When economic conditions in Mexico are as favorable as they are elsewhere, then immigration will rush to the country, and a new era will begin for it and its people.

"There is more free land and better land there than is anywhere else available, the climate is as desirable as any in the world, and to the agriculturist Mexico, under the right conditions, would offer the easiest life that any agriculturist ever has known. But all these advantages are nullified by lack of proper land laws.

Constructive Program Needed

"I personally have been giving very serious consideration to these various problems. Peace and the dignified and orderly settlement of our domestic and external troubles can come only

through the working out of a constructive program. Financial reorganization and agrarian reform include our only hope.

"Even if these should not automatically pacify Mexico, they, and they alone, can successfully be used as the corner-stone of an ultimate pacification.

"For two years I have been preaching this in my own country and the United States. The new Government of the new Mexico, whether sectarian or national, whether established by the Mexican people themselves or by the United States through armed intervention, must, as the first act of its administration, find the money with which to carry out the ancient promise and the present necessity of dividing the land among the Indians. Secondly, it will have to find a way of doing this with justice to every one concerned.

"These things will need to be immediately done. The Indians will not wait. Hope deferred maketh the heart sick, and they have waited long. They will not accept further empty promises, but if action is not prompt will again begin to fight among themselves and against whoever may appear.

"But in order to make the draft of a sound and workable plan for financial foundations and agrarian reforms, much time and study will be required. It is a complex subject in theory, a complicated one in practice, and in Mexico more difficult than elsewhere.

"The whole Mexican conflict has sprung from a vast misunderstanding of economic fact. The elevation of Villa or Carranza to the Presidency will serve no good purpose, the retention of Huerta in power will serve none, nothing will be effective till this economic misunderstanding has been cleared away.

"Bent on hoping to solve the problem, I have closely studied the laws and methods which have been successfully followed in France, Italy, Ireland, Japan, Russia, and New Zealand. Similar reforms, adapted to our needs, would pacify Mexico and keep it pacified, as eighty per cent. of our population is made up of agrarian Indians. I am about to go abroad to continue my investigations.

"The reform must certainly be effective upon the basis of the homestead—that is, after a satisfactory system of allotment has been devised, the Indian must be forbidden to sell the land allotted to him, but must be bound, in exchange for his free allotment, to keep the land free for himself and family through successive generations; and it must be protected from attachment or mortgages, lien or any other obligation.

"As soon as a real government is established in Mexico it will be in a position to get, let us say, a billion dollars through an issue of bonds of fifty years' duration or perpetual rent.

"The Mexican proprietors will then have the choice of purchasing those bonds or seeing them sold to foreign markets, and the Indian, to whom the lands have been allotted, will pay in the form of rent, or a percentage upon the annual production of his land, a sum annually great enough to pay the interest upon the bonds, and to establish a sinking fund.

"The problem may be solved easily if placed in the hands of honest and intelligent persons, who have at heart the interests of the whole community, rather than of any faction.

"To prepare a sound, equitable and workable plan for financial and agrarian reform in Mexico, the legislation covering taxation, administrative machinery, and the general working system must be considered not only from the Mexican local point of view, but from that of the broad financial world, for the system must include the large loan to the new Government, an agricultural bank to transact all the business of the new agricultural system, and the arrangement of the guarantee, the bonds, and methods of payment.

"It may even be necessary to include in the new plans means for the restoration of the Mexican monetary standard, the payment of soldiers, the cost of reconstructing railroads, the payment of indemnities, etc. The international character of the satisfaction which this plan must give is indicated by the fact that English, German, and French banks of necessity will furnish the greater part of all the vast sums which will be required for this really constructive work.

"There are men like myself, whose familiarity with Mexican laws and the history and habits of the Mexican people would enable them to work out what might seem to be a plan sure to succeed upon the spot.

"But this must be a far more thorough task than anything which can be planned offhand. All that has been done in France, in Russia, in Japan, in Ireland must be considered, and such details as may be found to be available for Mexico must be adopted, with such changes elsewhere as may be demanded by conditions peculiar to the Mexican country and the people.

"All these things being true, I have decided upon a visit to Europe for the purpose of gathering information and for the purpose of holding conferences with political and financial experts familiar with the operation of agrarian systems.

"It seems to me that the creation of a program which will at once be practical and agreeable to the disturbed elements in Mexico is a task fit for any real patriot, as it is the only way out of the present anarchical situation, and in the prepara-

tion of such a program I trust that I shall have the real cooperation not only of Mexicans but of American interests in Mexico. With such I shall be glad at any time to consult and advise."

I asked Señor de la Garza, Jr., to express an opinion of the course which the United States Government has followed with regard to Mexican affairs.

"In considering Mexican affairs, the United States has probably been altruistic," he replied. "It has been animated by no selfish desire for conquest, actual or otherwise. But it not always has been sensible, and not once has it been deep.

"Consideration of Huerta's fitness for the office of President never was one of the really most important matters. For the United States to demand a popular election in Mexico is but to make a joke of both nations, for, as things stand and as for a long time they must stand, a really popular election is an impossibility. Mexico must develop much before such a thing can come.

"To sit back in Washington and demand of Mexico impossibilities, things which the people do not understand and cannot be expected to understand, is not to render Mexico good service.

"That service which most will benefit Mexico, whether it be rendered by the United States or someone else, must consist of aiding Mexico—that is, the people of Mexico—to such development, by means as speedy as are possible, as will make real popular elections possible later on.

"It is rather melancholy for a man like myself, who loves his Mexico, to contemplate the fact that not a single effort in this direction is being made, either in the United States or in Mexico. None of the Mexican leaders—not Huerta nor any of the men opposing him—none of our good friends in Washington or anywhere in this country, is striving toward this end.

"The best interests of Mexico as well as of the foreign capital invested there and the best interests of international friendship will best be served, not by favoring one or the other of the Mexican factions, as seems to be constantly thought best by Mexico's friends in the United States. Such a course, no matter how honest and admirable may be the motives which give it inception, must be disastrous, not beneficial.

"But it will be to make it possible for a new sentiment to be born there which will stand for something which the sentiment of no present faction stands for—real progress of the human beings who inhabit Mexico.

Mexico Must Be Educated

"No country is, or can be, greater than the people who inhabit it. To help Mexico, therefore, we must help Mexicans. After the Mexican has had a chance for development he will select leaders very different from those he now chooses, more through ignorance than vicious sympathies.

"Mexico needs education. The United States Government, from time to time, has lifted the embargo upon firearms and ammunition, encouraging the exportation into Mexico of these American products. The American product which Mexico really needs is not a cartridge, but a school book.

"The American administration which shall pay as little attention as possible, either through recognition or condemnation, to ambitious and selfish Mexican politicians and which shall endeavor to assist those Mexicans who are trying to build up, rather than to destroy, will render the most friendly possible service to a distressed neighbor.

"And this statement may be applied with equal truth to American financial interests. To favor one faction or the other is but to prolong the evil days. To work for the good of Mexico itself is to work for the real and permanent good of all investments there, and the way to work for the real good of Mexico is to work for the solution of the country's great national problems, of which the land problem is the greatest.

"It is this and allied difficulties which are responsible for the present warfare, for they are responsible for the conditions which became intolerable and against which the people revolted without knowing what they wished to substitute for them.

"If these fundamentally wrong conditions are not corrected, any peace which comes will be of short duration, no matter how many solemn meetings may be held at Niagara Falls or elsewhere."

FROM *THE HUMANITARIAN MAGAZINE*

DECEMBER, 1916

AGRARIAN PROBLEM OF MEXICO

By Emeterio de la Garza, Jr.

THE trouble with Mexico is the terrible economic conditions in which her agrarian population is living. In my opinion, the paramount problems are the agrarian, the financial and the social problems.

And the solution of the agrarian problems cannot be postponed, the natives are in no mood to wait. They may not understand the problem nor how to go about a proper solution, but they want the lands. They have been deceived so many times with empty promises that the only thing to be done is to give them the land, or they will continue on the war-path. Much time and doubts, many disappointments and troubles, can be saved and avoided by adopting the agrarian reforms at once.

Therefore, no greater service can be rendered to the Mexican people, to any Government that may be installed, and incidentally to the large foreign interest invested in my country, than to prepare a plan which will bring a peaceful, orderly and satisfactory solution of the land question.

Mexico, on account of her wealth and the money *already invested there by foreigners*, is an international country, and a sound, fair and workable plan for the execution of the agrarian reforms and the reorganization of her financial standing should therefore partake of the character of and must be an international plan. It cannot be accomplished in Mexico or by Mexicans alone, nor by the United States or any other foreign country only, as it must conform not only to the Mexican points of view and necessities, as to legislation, taxation and administrative machinery, but also to the world's requirements in the matter of loans, bonds, securities, immigration, etc.

While it is obvious that the methods followed in other countries could not be applied "ready made" in Mexico by reason of the great difference in agricultural, financial and political conditions, still the thoughtful study of the agrarian measure taken abroad and the experiences of those countries will be of great help in the solution of the whole Mexican problem. The matter must be considered and intimately approached from two sides quite apart, but related, *viz.:* the racial characteristics, local necessities and actual conditions of the Mexcian people, and on the other side, the American, European and Japanese precedents and experiences in agrarian question; a real international plan.

The whole agrarian problem of Mexico might be crystallized in a few words: all the difficulties arise from the individual ownership of enormous tracts of land—in some cases embracing nearly an entire large State or more, with the result that the soil remains uncultivated, except in a very small way, and this under the *peonage* or feudal system, which is worse than slavery. For the Mexican Indian, the sole ambition and supreme happiness would be to reach that state of life in which he may become a small landowner, unable as he is to make headway in other fields because he is not cosmopolitan in his life or work, and therefore cannot live outside of Mexico or engage in the world's leading business; but the large States have been heretofore undivided, the communal lands were taken from the villages and all the land in Mexico belongs either to the Government or to foreigners.

To emphasize the conditions, social and economic, under which the Mexican people were laboring and are fighting at present, let me lay before the public of America a short and comparative study which, strengthened by official and absolutely authentic information, will be more than enough to convince even the most skeptical of the real enormity of the Mexican agrarian problem.

There were in Ireland, in the year 1878, with only 4,000,000 inhabitants and with a fertile, fruitful soil on which had been adopted methods of intensive cultivation, 70,000 landlords who worked over an area of 8,000,000 hectares. The farms of the Irish landlords were relatively small —very small—compared to the vast possessions of the Mexican feudal lords, which goes to prove that, as a matter of fact, the subdivision of land was already made in Ireland. (I am not speaking of the political condition of Ireland but of her land problems.) However, the situation became so unbearable for the Irish people in 1878, that the solution of the agrarian reforms could not be postponed any longer, and at once were effected. The marvelous transformation of the Irish lands into a general productive soil is an accomplished fact for the benefit of her people.

In contradistinction to this, there are in Mexico only 9,000 farms—*haciendas*—and from twenty to twenty-five thousand small *ranches* stretched over an area of 767,000 square miles. It often happens that one of the Señores is the owner of two or three farms or *haciendas*. The fact that many of these *ranches* are located within the confines of the big farms renders them so poor and insignificant that they should not be taken into

consideration. Then we can safely reason the conclusion that 25,000 feudal lords are the sole owners of the rural Mexico, with a population of 16,000,000 and 767,000 square miles, of which there are 500,000 square miles of tillable land.

Comparing the agrarian situation of Ireland forty years ago with the real conditions prevailing in Mexico today, my country should have about 1,250,000 landlords to be in the same economic land status in which Ireland was in 1878, that is, when it was absolutely necessary to affect the agrarian reforms, and Mexico has only 25,000 landlords and she is 200 times larger than Puerto Rico, which has 50,000 landlords, and 20 times larger than Cuba, which has over 100,000 landlords.

Now to remedy this great misfortune, I would propose an agrarian law to be put in full force all over the territory of the Republic of Mexico, Article first of which would state that the division and subdivision of the rural property is a case of Public Utility and, therefore, it remains subjected to *expropriation* (not confiscation) by the Government through the proper process of law and previously paying the indemnification price. Works of Public Utility may be considered, also the irrigation of lands, the canalization of rivers and the opening of ways of communication.

Thus the Government has the right to acquire the lands without causing any loss to legitimate owners. The reason is the State's reason, public health and benefit. The Mexican Constitution, like the fundamental law of any other country, prohibits *confiscation*, and the agrarian reforms must be done in Mexico in accordance with the Constitution or they will not stand. A man cannot be dispossessed of his property but by a fair price and due process of law. The inviolability of private property is the first and the paramount principle upon which society rests. *Confiscation* is robbery, nothing else, wholesale robbery.

Even if it were true that in Mexico the landlords despoiled the Indians of the lands, yet an injustice cannot be corrected by another injustice. Facts already accomplished and for years consented to, bring forth inevitable results. Have not these alleged injustices caused this revolution? Then new injustices will cause a new revolution, and so on forever. Reforms cannot be accomplished by bringing forth new wrongs as their remedies; good cannot come out of an excess of evil. I want to convince my countrymen that we cannot go in Mexico against vested rights, that we cannot turn upside down the whole order of life, ignore all authority, law and moral principle. To me, property is the natural consequence, the logical ratification, the gratifying result of all the rights of the man put together, of all human liberty. I am free, I labor, I gain money, I invest it, I become a proprietor. My property is the material form in which society rewards and acknowledges my work, industry and liberty. Let us declare, therefore, that all properties, territorial, public, individual and industrial shall be forever respected. *Confiscation* is not constructive, it is destructive. On the contrary, *expropriation* for reason of public welfare is justified by all principles of legislation, morality and social rights.

We can learn some lessons by the experience of France. Charles X., after Louis XVIII., provided for a suitable indemnification to the *êmigrês* for the properties *confiscated* during the great French Revolution and a billion francs were decreed by the Parliament of France to that effect. *Emigrês* were victims who came to claim their own, said the King, and it was incumbent to the Government to give them their due. "It is important," said the Premier Minister, "that by one memorable and universally useful example we should teach the lesson that great injustice should receive in course of time great reparation." It is also a measure of reconciliation and amnesty. The holders of the confiscated estates in France never were firmly guaranteed in their possession, until the legitimate owners received a just indemnity. So, ultimately, we will have to do the same thing in Mexico for security of the holders and satisfaction to the owners.

The only lawful process which I see by which the very necessary division of Mexican lands may be accomplished lies in *expropriation*. We could also resort to taxation, but not now. In the *N. Y. Times* I have said: "that if the right sort of land taxation laws were put in force, uncultivated and undeveloped land would become an intolerable burden to its owner, that no man could afford to retain ownership of great tracts of unproductive but well-taxed land, an enforced and progressive tax, that sale or abandonment of much of the great properties would become, after the imposition of entirely reasonable taxation, an economic necessity to their owners. Still I am not very much in favor of taxation any more and, as a general rule, for Mexico under present circumstances. It may be all right in normal times, but not at the present time, because the landlords, thinking that the Mexican Governments will not last very long and the new administration will modify the plan, may be willing to pay the price and the land will continue undivided and the tax will be ultimately paid by the peon, leaving conditions as they are, if not worse." As to *expropriation*, it is lawful, forced sale, payment of the just value, and it answers the purpose admirably.

The second article of the Agrarian Law will provide for the indemnification price as follows:

The indemnification price to be paid by the Government shall be the price fixed and declared by the proprietor himself, by stating at the office of the Public Registry within ninety days the true value of his property. Should the price not be changed, that which is now recorded would be the price of expropriation. All errors or misrepresentations and the responsibilities incurred, both civil or criminal, due to previous declarations for less value shall be condoned. No other taxation shall be declared hereafter than a single tax of one per cent., ten to a thousand, upon the true value of the whole property.

This form of appraisement is the best and the simplest. Being optional for the Government to buy or not to buy, should the owners exaggerate the price, they can be left alone paying taxes for a high price. Should they not answer promptly to the call the property can be bought, due to their own fault, at the ridiculous price they have recorded to avoid taxes. But with all past errors condoned and the assurance of having but a single tax to pay, I am sure that the matter can be adjusted properly.

The Catastro, the old, slow, complicated system of taking the census of real-estate property in Mexico, never worked successfully; it involves too many technicalities, gives room for concealment and deceit. My proposition is excellent. It will be foolish on the part of the *hacendado* to conceal the price of his lands, as it will serve as a basis for the payment of the *expropriation*. Of course, at the outset, the landowner will be taken aback by the fear that an honest declaration of the price of his farm will render him liable to overcharges in taxation, or that he will be made responsible for having concealed in the past the true value of his property; but once the *hacendados* are assured that the responsibilities of the past will not be pressed against them and that they will not be called upon for fifty years to pay a higher rate of taxation than one per cent., or ten per thousand, they will readily comply with the law, registering their farm in the office of the Public Registry of Property within their districts at its true, real and effective value; that is, the value at which he wants to dispose of it without any loss whatsoever. The law must provide that, under the same conditions and liabilities, the landowners can alter the declaration of the value of their property at any time, subject to the improvements made on it or the depreciation, if any.

Our *hacendados*, or farmers, have never declared the true value of their properties for purposes of taxation. Be it a practice as general as corrupt; be it that in Mexico the custom has been abused beyond the limit reached in other countries; be it because the landlords do not believe in the stability and honesty of our governments; be it because the latter is formed by men who gain power by accident, and their only aim is to exploit the people and enrich themselves; be it, as it may, both government and *hacendados* cheat and deceive themselves mutually, the latter declaring a nominal and ridiculous value of their lands in order to escape taxation and the former overcharging assessments and taxes to get from them the greatest possible amount. The lack of uniformity in the taxation of lands in Mexico can be inferred from the fact that in some of our states the rate changes from five per cent., seven per cent., ten per cent., to fifteen per cent., and in some of them it has gone as high as seventeen per cent., twenty-five per cent., and thirty per cent.

It happens that as small landowners cannot hide successfully the exact dimensions of their lands, which are apparent to everybody, they are compelled to pay two or three times the amount allotted to the large landowners, who in all cases are able to use their territorial control and political influence with the authorities to avoid payment of taxation. So monstrous and immoral is the situation created by this custom, so disgraceful is the abuse of the practice, that I, going through the offices of various departments of State, local Government and Land Registries in Mexico, have found that the value of all the real estate in the Mexican Republic, from the United States border in the North to that of Guatemala in the South, is appraised for the purpose of taxation at $800,000,000 Mexican money, which, to say the least, is perfectly absurd and ridiculous. Mexico is more than two hundred times larger than Puerto Rico, and Puerto Rico has its lands valued at more than $100,000,000 American money.

Once all the lands of Mexico are revalued, they will be worth twenty thousand millions of dollars, United States Currency; twenty billions of dollars and with a tax of one per cent., would give to the Government of Mexico from the beginning a new income of $200,000,000, every year, and this tax, even on a higher valuation of the property, will be much less than the outrageous taxes that are now being paid, that is to say, not paid —on fictitious prices. It is a new revenue from the soil which has heretofore been unproductive, thus helping the solution of another problem, the financial problem.

The agrarian reforms must be accomplished in Mexico after the well-known method, the *homestead*. We ought to accept and follow such

suggestions and rules—with necessary modifications—as are embodied in an act of the United States Congress, passed in 1862, granting land not to exceed one hundred and sixty acres to any conditions of an occupancy of five, ten, fifty years or perpetually, providing also for the exemption from seizure or sale by debt, mortgage or any other lien, and the beneficiary to retain said land from generation to generation successfully. Under such restrictions, the Indian or the immigrant, no matter his nationality, favored with a parcel of land, cannot dispose of it; on the contrary, he will be compelled to keep it and cultivate it for his own benefit and that of his family without any other encumbrance than the payment of a tax of one-half per cent. on the price annually.

How claims under the *homestead* law in Mexico may originate, by whom and how entries may be made, the rights of widows, heirs or demises under such laws, the time of residence and portion of cultivation required, alienation of land by *homesteaders* or enlargement of their properties; those and other questions under the *homestead* basis may be solved in a somewhat like manner as they are provided for and solved by the proper regulations and legislation in the United States and those of several other European countries.

I propose that the Mexican Government will grant lands to the small proprietors, natives or foreigners, at no cost whatsoever to them, on basis of a perpetual rent. The awarding of such lands would be a real donation to the *homesteader* for such a perpetual rent with a clear and perfect title, but always the land free of any defect, responsibility, gravamen or further claims against him, as the Government will guaranty the possession of the land without any reservation whatsoever. With only one exception will the new landowner be permitted to mortgage his land, provided it is done to the Agrarian Bank—there will be, in connection with the land reforms, an Agrarian Bank, the character and by-laws to be the subject of special legislation—and that is when he needs money for the purchase or security of payment of agricultural implements, machinery and seeds, which would be required for the cultivation of his land. In only one case will title to the land be revocable and the Indian or the new small farmer be deprived of his land, namely, when he does not work upon or cultivate it during a period of two or three consecutive years. Failure of payment due to the Agrarian Bank will also cause the Indian to lose his land, in which case the ownership of same will revert to the Government, but the Agrarian Bank will lend money to the farmers at a very low rate of interest and for a very long space of time.

Nothing would give the agrarian reforms a smoother sailing at their inception than the purchase and subdivision of the best lands, those of rich soil which are easily cultivated and of prompt yield, so as to help the small farmer to a successful outcome and render his life agreeable and attractive. Barren lands, requiring irrigation works, should be left either to the wealthy *hacendados* who have the power and means to develop them and engage in expensive improvements or to the great companies that can afford the time and the money to await results.

The agrarian reforms deal not only with the subdivision of land, but will solve other collateral problems intimately connected with it, such as increase of wages, demand of labor, immigration, especially immigration, so important for Mexico and impossible under present war times and wages and economic conditions. I have said that no immigrant, even if Mexico were at peace, would think of going to Mexico at present, although it is the richest land on the face of the earth and should, logically, offer to newcomers such opportunities as no other country on the globe can promise. Therefore we Mexicans must so arrange our affairs that they will be attracted and be safe to settle in our country. Anything that we do toward immigration—like the agrarian reforms—must not only conform with Mexican laws, customs and habits, but also satisfy the demands of foreign peasants, their laws, customs, and habits, as we are extending an invitation to outsiders, so foreign business men, and financiers, too, will have to supply the money needed for our national development.

When a decent government is established in Mexico, peace assured and economic conditions become as favorable as they are elsewhere, then immigrants will rush to our ports and a new era will begin. But this is the moment to prepare the agrarian laws and encourage immigration. After the European war there will be so much poverty and misery on the old continent that the stricken people will be looking for new lands, and they will be glad to live in Mexico if she can offer to them incentives which will be appalling and convincing.

Immigration will create in two or three generations a new type of Mexican, a healthy, good and prosperous citizen, as immigration has done in Argentina and in the United States. That is just what I want and what we need. So you see, that another of the consequences of the agrarian problem will be to create a new type of Mexican, very different from the Mexican of today, a new Mexican that will be a useful and productive citizen at home and a desirable neighbor, an honest and loyal friend of the United States.

I want the land to be divided. I want salaries

to be raised. I want American and European immigration to come and share our marvelous wealth. The interchange of new ideas and the settlement of newcomers will work for the good of the race; for the moral, intellectual and economic elevation of my Mexico, and will guarantee the practical use of all the rights, public and social and individual, and instead of Indians, beasts and burdens, there will be good citizens, that, with modern methods and machines, will yield sure and prompt results in every walk of life.

Land in Europe is scarce and high priced, and in the United States also. In Mexico there is plenty of it and it is low in price. In a similar area it can produce the same in quantity and quality. According to the system which I propose, the Government shall give away land free to the immigrants, thus offering to them a brilliant and unequalled opportunity to begin anew their life, under better auspices and greater results. And there are more free lands, better lands, available lands for cultivation in Mexico than anywhere in the world.

Immigration, without emphasizing what it has done for the United States, because we all see and enjoy its marvelous results, has greatly helped develop Argentina, Brazil and other South American countries. The population of Argentina is growing to be almost entirely of European descent. During the past fifty years more than 2,500,000 Italians settled in Argentina, about 1,500,000 Spaniards, more than 250,000 Frenchmen, about 75,000 Englishmen, 100,000 Austro-Hungarians, more than 75,000 Germans, 75,000 Swiss and Belgians; a total of almost 5,000,000 immigrants in a country of 9,000,000 inhabitants. The population of Brazil is composed of Portuguese and Africans to a very large percentage, and more than 1,500,000 Italians, 500,000 Spaniards, 500,000 Germans, and so forth to such an extent that the original people of the country have very little, if any, ascendancy over the European settlers and are chiefly found in the interior, still leading a primitive life. They are no more than 500,000 in 24,000,000. Mexico, in her days of great prosperity, never had more than 100,000 foreigners of various nationalities, who have all left the country.

Immigration is practical education, and for education there is a crying need in Mexico. All the problems of Mexico, her existence, her future, her prosperity, depend on education: books, schools, teachers, missionaries. The day in which the United States would send to Mexico, instead of rifles and ammunitions, bibles and books; the day in which the United States would go to Mexico to open schoolhouses instead of planting military tents; the day in which the United States will send to Mexico an army of teachers and missionaries instead of an army of marines and soldiers; that day this country would be rendering a great service to my country and to humanity.

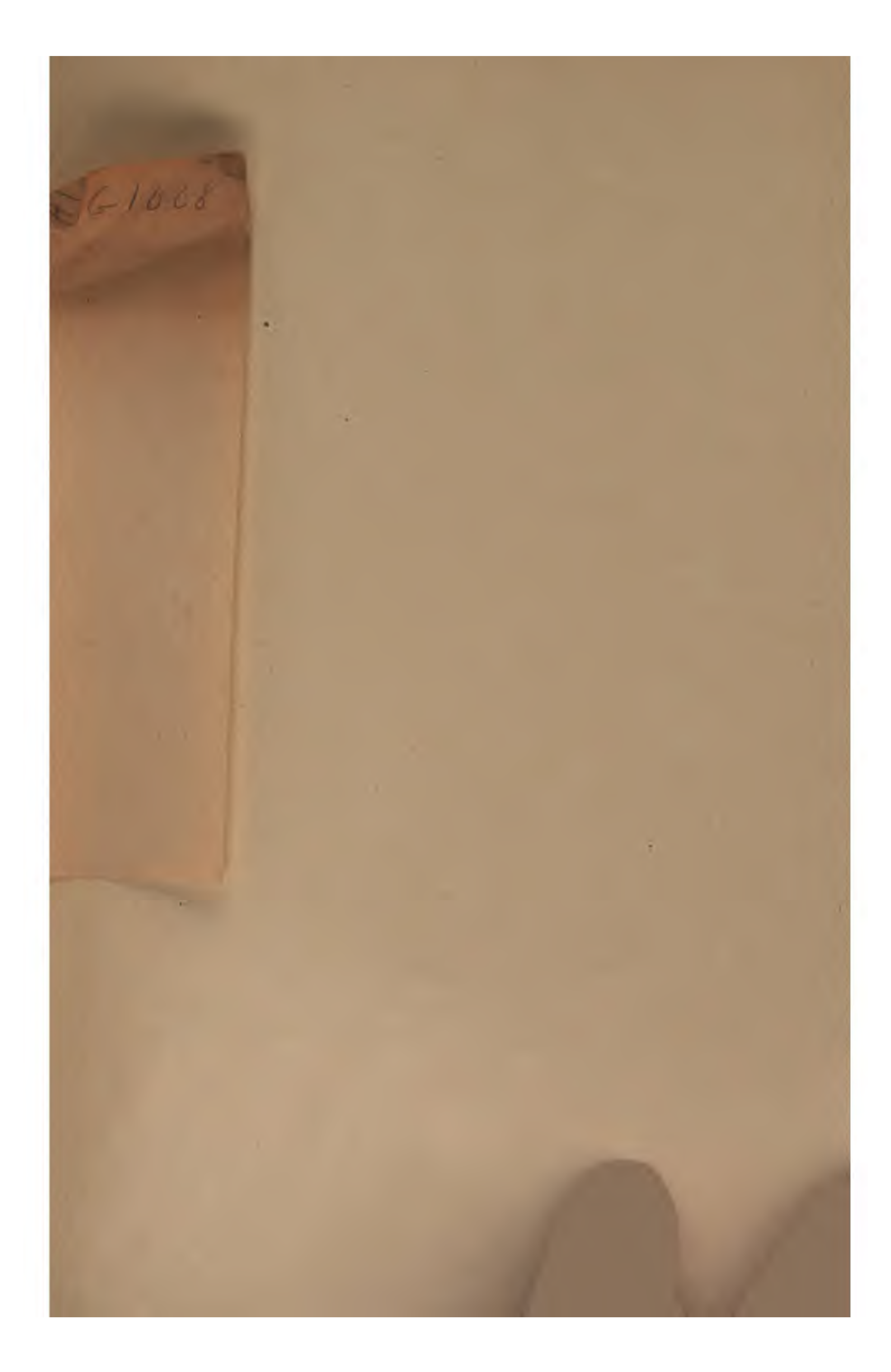


At a Banquet tendered in honor of Señor de la Garza, Jr. by leading members of the Government and the Bar before he left Mexico

For Terms and Dates write to

EMETERIO DE LA GARZA, JR.
42 BROADWAY
NEW YORK, N. Y.

R.
Redfield-Kendrick-Odell Co.
NEW YORK CITY


G1008

